

SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII

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ROMANZO ADAMS SOCIAL RESEARCH LABORATORY

and the

SOCIOLOGY CLUB

University of Hawaii

RACE RELATIONS AND ACCULTURATION

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PREFACE

The year 1957 marks the 50th Anniversary of the University of Hawaii and also the coming of age of Social Process in Hawaii, with the 21st annual appearance of this joint student-faculty publication. Since 1907 the University has become one of the key institutions of higher education within the Pacific area and it has made research on the Pacific its special concern. We, the staff of Social Process, are proud to be a part of this institution, and we trust that the present issue may prove to be a worthy contribution to the University's significant research program in the field of human relations.

The theme of race relations has been emphasized in earlier issues of Social Process, as it has also in the research program of the University. In many respects Hawaii affords an ideal laboratory for the study of race relations, and it is only natural that this theme should figure prominently in the writing and thinking of students at this university. Volume 18 of this series, already out of print, was devoted entirely to the subject of Race Relations in Hawaii, and it seemed appropriate that Volume 21 should also be focused upon some variant of this theme.

Hawaii has welcomed immigrants from all parts of the world, and together they have contributed to a new way of life--the Hawaiian variant of the American way of life. Each immigrant group, although thoroughly steeped in the cultural values and traditions of the homeland, has, following its arrival in Hawaii, gradually become emancipated from part of its culture in the process of becoming adjusted to the new social environment. Thus, the problem encountered by all of the many ethnic stocks in Hawaii has been that of retaining enough of their own heritage of values and traditions to give order and continuity to their lives, while at the same time fitting in with the expectations of the new American community of which they are becoming a part. It is to this dual problem of the Hawaiian community--of the slow yielding of the traditional values and the gradual adjustment to the new, of "Acculturation and Race Relations"--that this issue of Social Process is devoted.

We believe that the articles of this issue afford a broad and representative cross-section of the problems involved in this dual process. They reflect the varied experience of sociology students from four of the major ethnic groups in Hawaii, as well as the more technical and scholarly analyses of the social processes by members of the faculty.

The initial article is by Professor Bernhard Hormann and was prepared for the Atlanta, Georgia meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, where it was presented on April 13, 1957 as one of a panel dealing with "A Comparative View of Racial Segregation and Desegregation in the Schools." In this paper, Professor Hormann seeks to account for the fact that today neither Hawaii's public nor private schools, with possibly one exception, are racially segregative.

Andrew W. Lind, senior professor of sociology, takes up the familiar theme of racial bloc voting in Hawaii. Also concerned with the area of bloc voting is the presentation of a study by John M. Digman of the Psychology Department, giving an analysis of the role that ethnic factors played in Oahu's 1954 general election.

Rubellite Kawena Kinney, graduate student in English, shows through specific incidents, the acculturation of the Hawaiian people, taking into account primarily the changes in the field of Hawaiian folklore.

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The article by the Rev. and Mrs. Himeno, first and second generation of Japanese ancestry respectively, affords a penetrating analysis of certain conflicting and complementary values encountered by persons of Japanese ancestry in Hawaii. Professor George K. Yamamoto's report on marriage selection among the Naichi and Okinawan Japanese on Oahu sheds valuable light upon the continued operation of traditional distinctions within the same community.

Two of our student articles present comparative pictures of the past and present. Caridad Martin makes a comparison of the old-time Filipino wedding with the present. An interesting aspect of the changing sociological scene in Hawaii, involving a one-time exclusively Japanese hospital in Honolulu, is presented by Nancy M. Horikawa.

The other two student articles deal specifically with the race relations process at work. Evie K. Booth relates her experiences and impressions of Hawaii from the viewpoint of a military dependent. Chris Kimura tells of his military training on the Mainland and of his reactions, as an Islander, to the pattern of race relations he encountered there.

Bernhard L. Hormann, professor of sociology, makes a survey of recent books and reports of sociological interest dealing with Hawaii.

The staff of Social Process in Hawaii are deeply appreciative of the many kindnesses and services they have received from Mrs. Mary Kanno, secretary of the Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory, and to her this issue is dedicated.

The Editor

INTEGRATION IN HAWAII'S SCHOOLS*

Bernhard L. Hormann

In evaluating the degree of integration in racially mixed communities throughout the world, most informed observers would place Hawaii pretty much at the integration end of a continuum leading to segregation at the other end. In the present paper the purpose is to describe and explain the integration in Hawaii's schools so that the Hawaiian situation can then be compared with others where communities face the problem of providing education for children of a racially heterogeneous population.

Hawaii, with its half million people, is truly one of the most mixed communities in the world. Only a hundred eighty years ago the Islands, about twice as big as Puerto Rico, were occupied by between two and three hundred thousand isolated neolithic preliterate Polynesians, whose contact even with their ancestral homeland in Tahiti had long been broken. The discovery by Captain Cook in 1778 brought the inevitable forces of civilization, good and bad. The population declined, the survivors mixed with the newcomers and, by virtue of an excellent public health program and continued outmarriage, the descendant people are now the most rapidly increasing part of the population. Beginning in 1820 New England missionaries left their mark—christianizing these folk people and rapidly transforming them from a preliterate to a literate society. It was also largely, although not exclusively, Yankee initiative which laid the groundwork for a new economy based on trade and sugar and pineapple plantations, and this in turn led to the recruiting of peasants from all over the world and their importation as plantation laborers, primarily in the years from 1875 to 1925. Often the families came too or were later brought in. The last labor importation involved over 7,000 Filipinos in 1946. The major movements of population in recent decades, however, have been to and from the U.S. mainland, mainly of whites, called Haoles in Hawaii, but also of Orientals and Negroes. While the racial complexion of Hawaii's population is thus always fluid, the present proportions can be roughly summarized as follows: A large fifth of the population is of pure Caucasian descent; a smaller but rapidly increasing fifth has varying proportions of native Hawaiian ancestry; almost two-fifths are of Japanese origin; and the remaining fifth consists of Filipinos, Chinese, Puerto Ricans, Koreans, American Negroes, and Samoans, pretty much in that numerical order. By common usage these are the "races" of Hawaii.

Hawaii's public school system differs from Mainland systems in this important respect. It is under one central administration consisting of a superintendent of public instruction, appointed by the governor, and his staff, and of a board of commissioners, representing the public, and also appointed by the governor. There are no local school districts and local school boards. Financial support comes from appropriations made by the elected legislature of the Territory of Hawaii. This centralized organization is derived from the centralized school system developed under the Hawaiian monarchy during the last century. This means that teachers throughout the Islands and at both elementary and secondary levels have to meet the same educational standards and are part of the same salary scale. The centralized administration further makes for similarities in the attendance requirements, educational standards, and curriculum to which pupils throughout the Territory are subjected.

*See notes at end.

Compulsory school attendance antedates annexation of Hawaii by the United States in 1898, and for many years has kept children in school until their sixteenth birthday. Even before Annexation the public schools were already using English rather than Hawaiian as the required medium of instruction.

The centralized administration grew out of the missionary aim, determined upon at their first arrival in 1820, of making a whole nation literate. This led to their reducing the native language to writing and to their early establishment of common schools and a few higher or "select" schools throughout the Islands, first for adults, then for children. Already, one decade after their arrival over half the adults were reputed to be literate. Catholic missionary priests also set up such common schools. By the 1850's these common schools had evolved into a governmentally-supported school system.

The "select" schools had more distinctively vocational aims, and were the direct inspiration of General Armstrong, son of one of Hawaii's missionaries, in founding Hampton Institute, from which Booker T. Washington in turn got the idea for Tuskegee. The select schools also trained teachers and potential wives for these teachers.

The children of the missionaries, the mixed children of white fathers, and the children of the Hawaiian chiefs, in status quite distinct from the commoners, had special educational needs which led to the establishment under private auspices in the 1830's and 1840's of schools for these children. Punahou School, will be discussed below. The other early private schools later became public schools, accepting white children, as well as mixed and aristocratic Hawaiians, and taught in English, rather than Hawaiian. During the last decades of the nineteenth century the common schools gradually changed over to English in response to the requests from Hawaiians who wanted their children to learn English. The first American-type public high school was established in Honolulu in the nineties, drawing at first mainly white children.

As children of the foreign labor immigrants grew to school age, from the eighties on, they entered the public schools, which by the time these children became numerically important, had become English schools. This new group, largely of Oriental children, rapidly became the dominant element in the public schools. In 1910 somewhat less than half the children in public schools were Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and Filipinos. By 1920 they constituted 60 per cent of the enrollment.

These second-generation children had serious difficulties with the English language and pressure from worried parents, largely white, led to the so-called "English standard" schools, begun in the middle 1920's as part of the public school system. Admission to these required an oral English test. These schools were first at the elementary level and then extended to the secondary level. During the three decades of their existence only nine were organized throughout the Islands. While non-white children were not excluded, the schools had a predominance of white children until the outbreak of the war, when the number of whites went down because of evacuation to the U.S. mainland. Their places were rapidly filled by Hawaiian and Oriental children. In 1947, when 8 per cent of all public school children were in these standard schools, the Orientals constituted 41 per cent, the Caucasians 29 per cent, the Hawaiians, pure and mixed, 22 per cent of the standard English school enrollment. About this time a political issue over the abolition of this system, on grounds that it was "undemocratic" and that the problem of the linguistic lag was being solved in other ways developed and caused the

Legislature to call for elimination on a year-by-year basis. In four years, standard schools will be a thing of the past.

While at the height of the "English standard" system non-white children who had been excluded sometimes felt they had been discriminated against on a racial rather than a linguistic basis, there is none but the most subjective evidence to indicate that this ever occurred. Certainly it was never in any sense policy. The standard school enrollment statistics for 1947 just cited as well as observation of the present enrollment at the remaining standard high school--official racial statistics no longer being released--believe any charge of racial discrimination.

The total enrollment statistics by race for the public school system were last released in 1947. In percentages the 84,923 children were divided as follows:

	Per cent
Hawaiian, pure and mixed	22.0
Caucasian	9.3
Puerto Rican	1.9
Chinese	4.6
Japanese	45.6
Korean	1.0
Filipino	10.0
All others	5.4

Here we see clearly the presence of all races in Hawaii's integrated public schools, although certain races, particularly the Caucasians, are under-represented.

Integration applies also to the people who are professionally connected with the public schools. For instance, in over a third of the 205 public schools of the Territory Oriental principals are in charge. At the remaining English standard high school a quarter of the faculty of around seventy teachers are not white, but Japanese, Chinese, or Hawaiian. This is in great contrast to the nineteen-twenties when I had my first teaching experience in the public school system, and the one public high school in Honolulu had no Oriental teachers. The first Japanese principal, I remember, was appointed in the thirties.

I have tried in my historical sketch to show how these non-segregated schools developed. For over a century universal education has been the aim, available to the masses. Thus we can say categorically that racial segregation has never been the practice of the public schools in Hawaii. To explain this fact more clearly, I shall now turn to the private schools, for they played a distinct part in the process.

In 1947 the 23,201 private school children showed a somewhat different racial distribution from that in the public schools.

	Per cent
Hawaiian, pure and mixed	26.8
Caucasian	29.6
Puerto Rican	.9
Chinese	10.8
Japanese	20.8
Korean	1.2
Filipino	5.8
All others	3.8

What stands out is the over-representation of Caucasians, Hawaiians, and Chinese.

Earlier I made brief mention of private schools as "select" schools established for special groups of children during the last century. Punahou School was established in 1841 for the children of missionaries who otherwise would have been sent to the U.S. East, as the first ones were sent. The parents, eager to keep their children close and to prevent their contamination with the Hawaiian language spoken by Hawaiian playmates, welcomed a local boarding school for their children. Punahou soon accepted non-missionary white children and Hawaiian and mixed children who could meet the standards. Later in the century the school met the threat of an influx of Chinese children, with inadequate English speech, by an informal quota of 10 per cent for Orientals, which was maintained into the 1940's but has now been abolished. Punahou, with an enrollment of over two thousand, now admits anyone who meets the academic requirements, with preference to children of alumni. Because of the long-continued quota, its enrollment is still predominantly Haole. Punahou School, more than any other school has become the symbol in the community of the "Haole" school, and the sporadic object of anti-white feeling. However, in fact, it is gradually losing this character. Its highly regarded football team has many non-white players. Its students a few years ago elected a Japanese boy as president of the student body. Oriental teachers are being added to the faculty. No longer so much the "Haole" school, Punahou strives to be the school with the highest "academic standards."

If Punahou has been the "white" school, Kamehameha is the "Hawaiian" school. Established in 1887 by the will of the last surviving royal descendant of the great King Kamehameha I, this school is the sole beneficiary of her estate, owning 9 per cent of the lands of the Islands, and admits only children with an eighth or larger proportion of native Hawaiian ancestry. Public or private, it is the only school to which the term "racially segregated" might appropriately be applied. Yet its students, numbering 1500, show all degrees of mixture, some looking Hawaiian, some Oriental, some white, some exotically mixed, and in this sense the campus is more interracial than racial. What criticism there exists in the wider community of this very fine institution with its increasingly high standards, grows out of the "segregation," which, the critics claim, protects the students from the general competition which they must meet when as adults they enter the multi-racial community where segregation is less and less characteristic of every phase of life. The defenders, of course, argue that Kamehameha has helped the Hawaiians and Part Hawaiians in their painful and difficult transition to urban civilization.

Other private schools are mainly under religious auspices: Catholic, Congregational, Episcopal, Seventh-Day Adventist, Baptist, Lutheran, Buddhist, Mormon. Some have a colorful history which takes them back into the last century. Others are quite recent. The Catholic parochial schools, established in the last quarter century, have experienced marked growth, accounted for by the great strength of the Roman Catholic Church, which claims almost 40 per cent of the total population. Some of these schools, established originally for special groups of children, for instance, one for Chinese boys with christianization in view, are no longer selective, and have become denominational or non-denominational schools, and quite interracial.

That the Chinese are over-represented in the private schools is due to their being the Oriental group which has been in Hawaii longest and is in some respects most assimilated. Chinese have sought private school instruction at Punahou or elsewhere over a longer period of time and in larger proportions than the other Oriental groups up to now.

The preponderant part that private schools have played in the past development of the educational system of Hawaii may be evaluated in the following way. These schools have in general fulfilled the function of allowing the public schools to concentrate on two stupendous tasks. First was the task of transforming a preliterate stone-age folk people--comparable with the Bantu--to a literate people capable of taking their part in the modern world, and second was the task of assimilating to our industrial urban American way of life the children of large numbers of "colored" Asian and white European immigrants of peasant background and strange culture, many almost or completely illiterate, or, if literate, being so in a style of writing utterly foreign to our own, very many of Buddhist and animistic folk beliefs. The private schools have made possible the successful accomplishment of these civilizing tasks by relieving the public schools of the pressure to establish special schools for the white and other children who had special educational needs. Even the private afternoon language schools of the Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans eased the work of the public schools in this sense. Immigrant parents felt reassured that through the language schools their children were being trained in important Old World values, and this helped them accept, or at least not interfere with, the program of the public schools for their children.

Today, it is because the public schools have accomplished so well their assimilative tasks with the Hawaiians and the non-white immigrants that racial integration is being accepted as natural and is increasing in both public and private schools. White parents of moderate means now accept the public schools more fully than ever before and private schools are less and less identifiable by race.

How well and how rapidly these two tasks were accomplished is easily demonstrated. By 1930, adult Hawaiians and Part Hawaiians were less than 2 per cent illiterate. A continuous program of administering standard tests indicates that Hawaii's children as a whole have steadily improved and now approximate U.S. standards. For instance, sixth graders in all public schools in September, 1956 scored 5.9 on the California Achievement Test. In a similar achievement test given in 1940 the total score for sixth graders had been 5.4. Surveys indicate that retardation in language, which was formerly a serious problem, is now a relatively minor problem. Hawaii's public school children who have transferred to Mainland schools in all parts of the country report that they are not behind, and sometimes ahead of the classes with whom they are placed. Children of university professors who have transferred from Mainland schools to Hawaii's schools are usually satisfied with and frequently challenged by the local schools. A small sample of Navy wives interviewed by one of my students recently, with minor exceptions, claimed satisfaction with Hawaii's schools. According to the 1950 U.S. census a higher proportion of the population between 14 and 17 years of age is in school in Hawaii than on the Mainland. The respective percentages are 91.2 and 83.3. A large proportion of high school graduates continue their schooling, just over half of the 6,659 public and private high school graduates of 1956, according to recent surveys. In 1950 the median school year completed for the population over 25 years of age was 8.7 for Hawaii and 9.3 for the U.S.

We have accumulated many accounts of the rapid rise of poor immigrant families. Take this account of a picture bride who came from Okinawa in 1922, did plantation field work, supplemented the meager family income with a chicken farm and home crafts for the tourist trade and sewing for others, and who has raised a family of nine girls and one boy. The daughter who wrote the account is now teaching in Michigan. Several of the other children will probably get higher education. The mother took adult

work in English and citizenship in public night schools and has become a naturalized American citizen.

The increasing interracial character of both public and private schools is a strong indication of the lack of effective demand for racially segregated education. Yet the demand for private education continues. Enrollment is considerably greater than on the Mainland, at present 16 per cent as against an average of 11 per cent on the U.S. mainland, and this deserves a comment. It has been occasioned largely by the expansion of religious schools mentioned earlier. In a community with such a large non-Christian population it is understandable that competition among the sects should be keen. However, the response of local people of other than white background to private education is not primarily and initially a religious response, except insofar as Catholic parents now have greater opportunity to send their children to parochial schools than a few decades ago. The response, particularly of Oriental parents, is rather one which reflects a striving for the best in education, for escape from earlier hardships, for improved status. It reflects marked upward mobility.

To document this it may be pertinent to quote from a few student papers written in the fall of 1956. A Chinese girl, who moved from the city to a plantation when she was in the first grade writes:

A few of the ambitious Japanese laborers tried to span the gap between their station and the more prestigious Haoles by sending their offspring to mingle with the children of the more prominent Haoles in an exclusive kindergarten far beyond their means. (2103)

A Japanese girl writes:

By the time my sister was five years old and ready for school, my mother and father had made up their minds that since nothing was more important than education, they would send her to the best school possible, even if they had to skimp and save. After conferences with her Portuguese neighbor and after visiting various schools, mother and father decided on a private Catholic school. When mother and father found out that Catholic students were given first priority in being accepted, they decided that nothing must stand in the way of a good education. Sister was baptized a Catholic and accepted at the school. Brother underwent the same thing. When it was my turn to enter school, however, the school no longer accepted children on the basis of religion and so I was accepted as a non-Catholic. (2138)

An Oriental mother, whose two girls were being sent to Punahou at a financial sacrifice said to a white mother whose children were attending public school, "We would send our children to public school too, if they were Haole."

What we see then is a pervasive concern throughout Hawaii with the quality of education for children and with the social status they may attain through education.

Racial integration is a fact, and merely reflects and reinforces integration in the community at large. In politics and government, community organizations of all sorts, highly active PTA's, Rotary, Lions, Kiwanis Clubs,

in church work, in neighborhoods--in all phases of life, segregation is giving way to integration. Three of ten marriages now are interracial marriages and over the twenty years of the nineteen thirties and forties almost a third (31.3 per cent) of the almost two hundred thousand children born were mixed.

Nevertheless, there are racial tensions and resistances to the processes of integration in the schools and the community at large and I would be remiss if I did not mention them.

Terms like Tokyo high school and Tokyo university are occasionally used in non-Japanese circles in recognition of the high proportion of Japanese students in these schools. A few "racial islands" continue their splendid isolation. Charges of racial bloc voting are occasionally made. Japanese and Chinese parents sometimes take their children out of public schools because of a high proportion of Hawaiian or Portuguese children, whose negative effects upon the academic and social behavior of their own children they fear. One occasionally hears the term "damn Haole" used with deep resentment by Hawaiians and Orientals. Fights involving white servicemen and local non-white boys have occurred through the years with blame attaching sometimes to one, sometimes to the other side. Negroes have felt discrimination from white and non-white elements in the community.

It is of course in the more intimate spheres of life that in each racial group there are fears of the sort which bother people in the South. In the files of the Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory are many student papers collected over a period of the last twenty-five years dealing with experiences in this more intimate realm. I have just read almost two hundred new papers by juniors and seniors. All kinds of experiences, behavior, and feelings are reported. Some students betray curious ambivalences. Generalization is difficult. I should like to quote a few papers to indicate the range of reactions in this sphere of personal contacts. The first set deals with the school and classroom situation. The race and sex of the students are given at the beginning of each quotation.

Chinese girl: The school is another factor that affected my choice of friends. I have attended co-ed public schools from kindergarten through high school, and my classmates were composed of children of various races. Studying, playing, and working with them throughout the years, I have become very well acquainted with many of them. Some of my very good friends were my classmates since my intermediate school days. (2197)

Japanese girl: I saw, too, how my Haole friends became victims of the ridicules. The Japanese children, the Portuguese children and the Hawaiian children would "gang up" on them and tease them by such names as "Oh, you stink cheese," or "You stink orange," or "You rabbit, always eating carrots." A few of the more "bully" boys would yell, "You damned dirty Haole, did you take a bath last Saturday?" [This refers to the stereotypes which many non-whites have of whites that they don't bathe daily and consequently have a characteristic body odor.]

During my sophomore year in high school, I was especially aware of race favoritism. I had heard year after year that Mrs. X did not like Japanese students. From the first day in her classroom, I noticed her attitude toward the

Japanese as compared to her attitude toward the Haole children. I noticed that when she called roll, she would look up and smile whenever she came to a Haole student's name. During exams she would always keep her eyes on the Japanese while the Haole students did the cheating. (2139)

White girl: In the public schools my classmates were predominantly Oriental. My mother always said to be nice to them and that it was nice for me to have Oriental friends but that my very best friends should be "Haoles." My closest friends were Haoles and my very best friend went to Punahou. When playing hopscotch or jump rope with a group of Oriental girls I often felt that I was left out or given a "dirty deal." I was often cheated I know, and somehow I never got to have first chance. However, that may in part be due to the fact that I was easily pushed around. I'm sure I can say with honesty that never, while I was in public schools, did I feel any annoyance, disgust, or distrust of the Oriental group as a whole. I disliked some of its members, but then I also disliked equally as much, some of the members of the Caucasian group. I know that most of my "crushes" on boys during this period were on Japanese boys. Today I feel that my public school experiences gave me invaluable experience with members of other races. (2105)

In the matter of the problem of interracial dating and marriage, the following set, all from Japanese girls, of the second and third generation, give the range of pressures of Japanese families over their children in this area.

My parents . . . are always telling me I must not marry anyone who is not Japanese. I have been told this so often that I would find it impossible to fall in love with and marry any man of another race. (2167)

[After my parents had succeeded in transferring me to Punahou against my will, they] indicated indirectly that I should make friends with the Oriental students and "hang around" with them instead of the Haoles. They made statements like: "Are you going to a party? Who's going? Why don't you go with Oriental kids?" (2131)

Once, brother became extremely interested in a Haole-Portuguese girl and began seeing her quite frequently. As soon as mother and father learned of the relationship, they personally terminated the friendship; "oya no haji," they would say, "Disgrace to the parents." (2140)

My parents are open minded and liberal when it come to marriage. They have not set up any rules regarding out-marriages. They have seen the results of out-marriage in their own families, so they understand that it is impossible to control the marrying trends of their children. I have also seen the results of mixed marriages in my relatives. I think I'll marry some of my own ancestry. Since my parents aren't too particular . . . I tend to be conservative instead of rebellious. (2142)

As far as marriage and sex are concerned, both of my parents [of the immigrant Japanese generation] always cautioned us to be careful and think wisely. They weren't very strict about dating, for they felt that we could be trusted and we would try to make the right decisions. They did have prejudice against other ethnic groups, but after my sister and brother intermarried with different nationalities, the barrier broke down somewhat. Both of my in-laws have proven to our family that race differentiation does not matter, that a successful marriage depends on the couple. (2160)

Similar varied reactions are found in other groups.

And what about these mixed families and children which if the present trends continue will be dominant in a few years?

A young Chinese man reports: [In our neighborhood] the Chinese families objected strenuously, the Korean families objected, every family objected when their sons or daughters intermarried, but all their objections passed on deaf ears. Money earned during the war was a large factor in this assimilation. The newlyweds were able to rent or buy their own homes thereby making it easier to maintain their independent ways. The education and facility of communication with each other plus the fact that all concerned grew up together made it more feasible to marry for love. I was one of those who married out. Now my children are being brought up almost wholly in the ideals of the American way. They visit and stay at each other's homes for dinner and at times for the night. So the words Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, etc. are outmoded. (2164)

I have the account of a Chinese-Hawaiian family with six girls and one boy. Five of the girls are married, respectively to a Chinese, a Japanese-Hawaiian, a Chinese-Hawaiian, a Japanese, and a Filipino husband, each with the approval of the parents. There are frequent occasions when the whole family happily gather at the parental home. In this family the Oriental influence is seen in the emphasis on the family's integrity and good name. The children were encouraged to seek education and were kept under control by the formula, "You must not bring the family into bad repute. What will people say?" As the children started earning they contributed to the family income. The Hawaiian influence is seen in the fact that both parents speak Hawaiian and have taught a little of the language to the children, and in the relaxed and warm atmosphere within the family. The influence of the West is seen in their religion--they are Catholics--and in their acceptance of the American way of life. (2153)

A Chinese-Hawaiian-Japanese girl speaks of the pride with which she told people of her plural racial extraction until their reaction made her feel "different," and she became somewhat withdrawn. In her case some of her Japanese relatives still showed disapproval of the marriage of her parents. "Today," she concludes, "Japanese persons seem to be getting used to the idea of living together among different races. Maternal grandmother was one such person. After observing father [Chinese-Hawaiian] closely over the years, she gradually realized how harsh she had been and finally accepted him as one of her sons." (2150)

These mixed children are coming to be known as "cosmopolitans." At the annual University of Hawaii beauty contest, which chooses several queens, one for each of the major races of Hawaii, the cosmopolitan group has for years been one of the component "races." It is interesting to note that the stereotype about these people, even accepted by people of pure ancestry who are not contemplating out-marriage, is that they are physically attractive.

What would happen if Hawaii faced the problem of a large number of Negro families to absorb cannot be known. As has been mentioned earlier, small numbers have entered the Hawaiian scene and these have over the years been absorbed. Negroes have been elected to office and attained other prominent positions. However, most people in Hawaii are so inexperienced with a Negro population that even though they pay lip-service to the Hawaiian system of race relations, they are still somewhat taken aback when confronted with still another color of the human spectrum. I am sure there would be disturbed Oriental, Hawaiian, and white parents. How disturbed would probably depend on such factors as size of the group, role in the economy, residential concentration or dispersion. The Negroes would have the advantage which the Hawaiians and Asian and European immigrants did not have, of an already acquired common English language and American way of life.

It is of course futile to pursue the question. I ask it merely to point to the importance of understanding the sociological process at work in Hawaii. Under the impact of dynamic forces derived primarily from America races seem to be eroding. I see Hawaii as unique primarily in the circumscribed nature and small size of the community and in the particular combination of population elements. Perhaps in a small place primary contacts develop more easily. Perhaps there is something special about the outlook on life of the Hawaiians and the Orientals. These are questions for further research. But in other respects Hawaii has compressed into it characteristics typical of modern mass society as seen in our nation and throughout the world. What has been happening so naturally in small Hawaii, is it perhaps happening, more slowly, more painfully, in the nation and the world at large?

Explanatory Note

This paper was one of a panel of three read at April, 1957, meetings of the Southern Sociological Society on Integration and Segregation in the schools: South Africa - U. S. South - Hawaii.

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On the work of the New England missionaries, particularly from 1820 to the 1850's, see Bradford Smith, Yankees in Paradise (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1956).

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On educational achievement, see United States Census of Population, 1950, Hawaii: General Characteristics, P-B52 (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952); also U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstracts of the U.S., 1956 (Washington, 1956).

The Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory files were used. The quotations from documents in the confidential file have their code numbers. The account on her Okinawan mother was written by Edna Oshiro and published under the title "The Americanization of My Mother," in Social Process in Hawaii, vol. XVIII (1954), pp. 30 ff. The newspaper clipping file yields information about the Samoan immigration, about fights between local boys and servicemen.

The writer also used the telephone to check on information and get the most recent facts re public and private schools.

RACIAL BLOC VOTING IN HAWAII*

Andrew W. Lind

Throughout the fifty-seven years of its territorial status, Hawaii has been subject to the unwarranted charge of racial bloc voting. The presence of large numbers of persons of Oriental ancestry in the population of the Islands has led uncritical observers to assume that mere differences in physical appearance and persisting cultural traditions must prevent these individuals from normal participation in the political life of the community. The fact that European immigrant groups in the industrial centers of Continental United States have been manipulated as political units by party bosses has led to the highly questionable conclusion that similar results must follow in Hawaii.

Even the elementary facts regarding the ethnic character of Hawaii's population are frequently misinterpreted by the uninitiated as yielding dangerous political consequences. Because the population of Oriental ancestry has constituted somewhat more than half of the persons resident in Hawaii throughout the period since Annexation, reaching a peak of 64 per cent in 1930, and declining to 57 per cent in 1950, it has commonly been supposed that they must have wielded a corresponding degree of political influence. Nothing, of course, could be further from the truth. By virtue of federal legislation which excluded from citizenship the great bulk of the immigrants from China, Japan, Korea, and the Philippines until World War II or after, their proportion of the adult citizens in Hawaii continued to be much less than the total population figures might imply. As recently as 1930, when the combined population of Oriental ancestry made up nearly two thirds of the entire population of the Territory, they constituted only 26 per cent of the total adult citizens. By 1950 a very much better balance between the number of adult citizens of Oriental ancestry and their proportion of the total population had been established, largely through the maturation of the Island born citizens and the gradual decline of the foreign born aliens. At the mid-century point, persons of Oriental ancestry made up 52.3 per cent of all the adult citizens of the Islands as compared to 57.0 per cent of the total population.

Any Islander would, however, immediately recognize the basic error in assuming that any type of unity exists between persons simply because they or their ancestors had once lived in the Orient. Certainly the differences in nationalistic aspirations and social practices of the peoples from the four countries of the Orient are just as fundamental in affecting their political behavior in Hawaii as any common cultural values which they alone might possess. No one at all familiar with the Island scene would ever contend that the combined citizenry of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Filipino ancestry has in the past constituted any sort of a political bloc in Hawaii or that there is any likelihood of its doing so in the future.

What is more commonly feared, particularly by those not too well informed as to the inner working of Island politics, is that some one of Oriental immigrant groups might function as a single voting bloc and might thus control elections or determine the balance of political power. This

concern actually resolves itself at the present time into a fear or distrust of the citizenry of Japanese ancestry since they are the only group of sufficient size to constitute any potential political threat in this regard. In 1950, which is the most recent date for which accurate data are available, persons of Japanese ancestry made up 40.2 per cent of the adult citizenry of the Islands, persons of Chinese ancestry, 8.6 per cent, and persons of Filipino ancestry, 3.0 per cent. The further fact that these ethnic groups are not evenly distributed over the Islands appears to give additional weight to this argument. For example, on the two islands of Hawaii and Kauai, from which separate county and territorial officials are elected, voters of Japanese ancestry may constitute as many as half of the total number of voters and would thus be situated, if they all agreed, to elect their own candidates. Presumably also, the Chinese or even the Filipinos, if they made up a solid bloc, subject to rigorous control, might decide the outcome of an election by the proper placement of their support.

The possibility of the democratic processes being so perverted is one which thoughtful observers of the Islands could not properly dismiss without careful investigation, and social scientists at the University of Hawaii have during the past thirty years made repeated studies of what has actually transpired in this regard. The remainder of this statement will attempt to summarize some of the more significant findings of these various studies.

Before citing any of the specific conclusions derived from these investigations, it might be appropriate to indicate something of the rationale of racial bloc voting as it appears to the prospective candidate for office in Hawaii.

Any politician of the slightest sagacity soon learns, if he does not already know, that the surest route to political suicide is an appeal on a racial basis. Not only is it impossible for any single racial group to achieve a majority of all the voters in the Territory, but even in districts. . . where the voters of one ancestry may predominate, a racial appeal would act as a bommerang.¹

The general temper of Island life is such as to incite serious public indignation toward any one who sought support in public on the basis of his racial ancestry. Not only would his opponents of other ancestries immediately seize upon such a serious faux pas, but members of his own ethnic group in the opposition party would surely make political capital of it.

Insofar as there is in Hawaii any natural disposition toward racial bloc voting which any candidate might be disposed to exploit, it clearly stems from the familiar American practice of "choosing the familiar when in doubt."

Hawaiian elections, like those of continental United States, are frequently devices for re-distributing minor offices and jobs, and public opinion fails to focus upon any special candidates. Our American (political) system requires the voter to pass upon the technical qualifications of individuals, many of whom he has never seen, much less known. Under these circumstances

* A statement prepared for the Hawaii Statehood Commission.

¹ A. W. Lind, "Hawaii at the Polls," *Asia*, 36 (October, 1936), p. 645.

what is more natural than to cast one's ballot for the names which sound most familiar? As between names printed on the ballot, all unfamiliar to the voter, in Hawaii the Haole (North European or American) may be expected to vote for Smith, the Chinese for Sun, the Japanese for Sato, . . . the Portuguese for Silva, (and the Filipino for Santiago.) Election tellers observe that ballots involving the selection of several candidates are frequently checked for only one or two, and it is commonly assumed that the failure to vote for all the possible candidates is evidence of bloc voting. Lack of information is more often the cause.

That the political neophyte profits by this weakness is unquestioned. Many an inexperienced citizen, ambitious for a political career, would scarcely dare to run for office without the virtual assurance of this minimum support of friends and acquaintances in his own racial community One discovers, therefore, that in the case of political novices, there is a significant correlation between the vote received by the candidate and the number of voters of his own racial ancestry. When, however, a candidate emerges from the common mass of politicians running for office, and becomes popularly identified with important civic movements, he is compelled to make his appeal for votes on a broad, community-wide, interracial basis, and by so doing, to alienate a part of the community which first helped to launch his political craft. The experienced politician will confess that his most bitter opposition frequently comes from his own racial community.²

The official practice prior to 1940 of recording data on the racial ancestry of all voters in the Territory made it possible to conduct certain studies on the correlation between the vote received by candidates of various ancestries and the number of voters of the corresponding ancestries. Repeated investigations extending over a ten year period (1928-1938) revealed two clearly marked tendencies--one involving a rather high positive correlation between the number of voters of a particular ancestry and the number of votes received by candidates of that ancestry, and the other involving a very low or negative correlation between these two sets of variables. In other words, there was clear evidence that the younger, inexperienced, and relatively colorless candidates, through the circumstance of familiarity mentioned earlier, received considerable political strength from voters of their own ancestry. It was equally evident, however, that the older, more experienced, and politically stronger candidates had incurred the active opposition of important elements in their own ancestral group, sometimes to the point of losing virtually all support from that source. These contrasting trends applied to candidates of all ancestries--Hawaiian, Part Hawaiian, Portuguese, Other Caucasian, Chinese, and Japanese.

The extent of racial bloc-voting, in the sense of all the members of a particular racial group voting exclusively for members of their own group irrespective of personal merit, was more difficult to identify or measure. Even the most casual observation of the Hawaiian political scene would indicate, however, that ethnic groups do not constitute political units.

² Ibid.

None of the racial groups belong exclusively to one political party. The candidates for political office who are of Japanese ancestry, for example, appear on the ballots of both Republican and Democratic Parties, and the same is true of the candidates of all other ancestries. There is doubtless a somewhat larger number of persons of Japanese ancestry enrolled as Democrats than as Republicans, just as the reverse is probably true of the Haoles, but it would be quite inaccurate to characterize the population of Japanese ancestry as Democrats or the Haoles as Republicans. Persons of Chinese, Korean, Filipino, Puerto Rican, and pure Hawaiian ancestry have been repeatedly elected to office including some of the most important positions in the Territory, although no one of these groups represents as much as ten per cent of the voting strength of the Territory.

As a means of testing more accurately the possible extent of bloc voting in Hawaii, social scientists at the University instituted in 1936 a series of periodic investigations based upon the actual balloting in representative precincts of the Island of Oahu. Student observers were stationed at the polling booths as the votes were tallied, to record the precise manner in which the ballots had been marked. Included in the sampling were precincts known to have a heavy concentration of the major racial groups. Without attempting to summarize the tabulations of all seven studies, the following excerpt from the one conducted in 1949 will give the general tone and configuration of the rest.

It was found that only 3.24 per cent of 13,591 ballots in the sample counted were voted solely for candidates of any one of the three groups--Haole, Japanese, and Other--and thus might be considered as evidence of bloc voting For all practical purposes, this indicates racial bloc voting, if it did exist at all at the Primary Election, was insignificant.

Other studies have revealed slightly less or slightly more of what we have chosen to define as racial bloc voting but it should be apparent that even this minimal amount may not represent a clear case of "casting one's vote irrespective of the relative merits of the candidates and solely because of the candidate's race." For practical purposes, therefore, it may be concluded that racial bloc voting in the Mainland sense, of the rigorous control over an entire block of voters of a common race, does not occur in Hawaii, and even in the more restricted sense of voting exclusively for members of one's own ethnic group, it is so slight as to be inconsequential.

ETHNIC FACTORS IN OAHU'S 1954 GENERAL ELECTION

John M. Digman

Hawaii's general election of 1954 provided students of politics with many interesting surprises. For the first time in the history of the Territory, the Territorial Legislature was controlled by a Democratic majority. In addition, Democratic gains were observed in areas traditionally considered Republican strongholds. These results, by themselves, were sufficiently novel to call for explanation. Beyond this, however, was a fact which many believed was a signal of an important change in Hawaiian politics: many of the newly elected officials and representatives were of Japanese extraction. Probably inevitably, this led to the resurrection of an oft-repeated charge: "bloc voting."

However it may be defined, the term "bloc voting" has generally connoted voting for the ethnic extraction of a candidate, rather than for the candidate's other qualifications, such as education, record, or party. While research on this matter is understandably complicated, it has been additionally hampered by a semantic difficulty attending use of the phrase "bloc voting". Unfortunately the term suggests an all-or-none affair, regardless of the intention of the person using it. For this reason, the author would propose that the ground for an examination of the problem be cleared first by dropping use of the phrase "block voting" in favor of the term "ethnic factors." Unlike "block voting," the latter term may very easily be thought of as a matter of degree, both in respect to individual voters and to the electorate as a whole.

It was the concern of the studies reported here to examine, as objectively as possible, the vote pattern of the 1954 election on the island of Oahu, in an effort to gain some insight into the various guides used by the electorate in the making of their vote decisions. While it was more or less tacitly assumed by the author that some indication of ethnic preferences would be revealed in the analysis, the particular method used was sufficiently objective to guard against the intrusion of preconceived opinion.

METHOD

The statistical method used in both the studies reported here is known as multiple factor analysis.¹ Based upon correlation procedures, the method has achieved considerable success in the field of psychology, serving particularly well to bring order into areas characterized by sets of vaguely related variables. One begins a factor analysis with a number of more or less related variables. The statistic used to indicate the relationships is the product-moment correlation or some variant of it. When completed, a factor analysis will generally provide fairly satisfactory answers to the following questions. a) How many basic factors underlie and are responsible for the relationships and variabilities observed? b) What is the relative order of importance of these factors? c) What values may be assigned to the variables in respect to the extent to which they draw upon these factors? Unfortunately the technique does not, of itself, name the factors. This must be done by inspection of the factor pattern, by observation of the variables which, on the basis of their factor values, seem to "go together."

1. The mathematically inclined reader is referred to L. L. Thurstone, *Multiple Factor Analysis* (Chicago; Univ. Chicago Press, 1947).

Two studies will be reported here. In the first study, the basic variable studied was the variability of the various candidates' vote strength from precinct to precinct. As a first step, since precincts varied considerably in size, all precinct returns were converted into percent values. On the basis of these data, each candidate-variable consisted of a number of values, as many as there were precincts. Pairs of candidates were then related on the basis of the product-moment correlation coefficient. Two correlation tables, one for each of the two districts of Oahu, were thus established. These tables were then analyzed by the so-called multiple group method, a variant of the basic centroid method of factor analysis.

In the second study, the interrelationships among the candidates were established on the basis of the information provided by a sample of the actual ballots cast in the election. Before they were destroyed, the author was permitted to examine a stratified sample of 284 ballots of the Fourth District and 283 from the Fifth District. Intercorrelations were then computed between pairs of candidates, using the tetrachoric correlation coefficient, a derivative of the product-moment coefficient for use in the case of dichotomous variables. Similar to the precinct study, two correlation tables were constructed, one for each district. The tables were then analyzed, using the same method as was used in the case of the precinct data.

RESULTS

Study I: Precinct Study

In the case of the Fourth District, only two factors were isolated. Together, these factors were sufficient to account for almost all of the variability and relationships observed among the candidate-variables. The first factor split the candidates into two distinct groups, one composed entirely of Republicans, the other of Democrats. Accordingly, this factor was called a "Party" factor. The second factor split the candidates into two groups, regardless of political affiliation. One group was composed (with three minor exceptions) of candidates of Japanese extraction; the other, of all other candidates. Consequently, this factor was termed an "Ethnic" factor. Of the two factors discovered, the "Party" factor seemed to be clearly the predominant factor overall, accounting for 80 per cent of the total variance of vote strength of the candidates across the precincts. Factor II, the "Ethnic" factor, was responsible for 15 per cent of the variance, leaving 5 per cent unaccounted for. Inasmuch as variances, while statistically preferable for technical reasons, give a somewhat distorted impression of relative variability, a fairly good comparison of the relative order of importance of the two factors may be had by comparing the square roots of the above values. When this is done, it may be fairly stated that, so far as the precinct method is concerned, the "Party" factor was somewhere around 2.31 times as important as the "Ethnic" factor in the determination of overall precinct variability.

For the Fifth District, three factors were isolated. The first two were the factors uncovered in the Fourth District, factors of "Party" and "Ethnic" affiliation. The first accounted for 46 per cent of total variance; the second, for 33 per cent. A ratio formed by the square-roots of these values suggests the relative order of importance of these factors in the determination of precinct variability in the Fifth District: Factor I, the "Party" factor, seems to be about 1.18 times as important as the "Ethnic" factor. In addition, a smaller, "residual" factor was discovered.

This factor proved somewhat difficult to identify, although there is some possibility of its serving as an "Experience" factor, inasmuch as those candidates with relatively high values for this factor were running for office for the first time. Whatever it was, it clearly did not suggest an ethnic matter, and was responsible for only 5 per cent of the overall variance.

Study II: Sample Ballot Study

As might be expected, the picture emerging from the analysis of the interrelationships based upon the ballots is somewhat more complex than was the relatively simple pattern found in the precinct variability study. In the case of the Fourth District, four factors were extracted from the correlation table. As in the case of the precinct study, the chief factor discovered was a "Party" factor, which accounted for 48 per cent of the total variance. Factor II was clearly an "Ethnic" factor, as it split candidates into those of Japanese and non-Japanese extractions. The third factor seemed to be an additional ethnic factor, inasmuch as candidates with relatively high values in respect to this factor were of Chinese and Hawaiian extractions. This second "Ethnic" factor seemed rather highly related to the non-Japanese category of the second factor. A fourth of less importance was isolated. Tentatively, this has been called an "Experience" factor, since those with relatively high values in respect to this factor were generally either young or running for office for the first time. Factors II and III together, the "Ethnic" factors, accounted for 23 per cent of total variance. When the square-root of this value is compared to the square-root of the variance proportion accounted for by Factor I, the "Party" factor, one may justifiably conclude that the "Party" factor, in the Fourth District, seemed to outweigh "Ethnic" factors by a ratio of about 1.44 to 1.00.

Analysis of the relationships found in the Fifth District resulted in a somewhat similar pattern. The predominant factor was, again, the "Party" factor, accounting for 53 per cent of total variance. Factor II seemed to be an "Ethnic" factor, as candidates with high positive values in respect to this factor were all of Japanese extraction, while those with high negative values on this factor were of Chinese or Hawaiian ancestry, wholly or partly. As in the case of the Fourth District, the third factor to be isolated seemed also to be of an "ethnic" nature, since candidates with relatively high value in respect to this factor were of Caucasian extraction. The relationship between the "Chinese-Hawaiian" category of Factor II and "Caucasian" of Factor III appeared to be fairly high, with both in opposition to the "Japanese" category of Factor II. Together, these two "ethnic" factors accounted for 19 per cent of total variance. Handling these variance percents as in the case of the Fourth District, one may conclude that, in the Fifth District, "party" considerations seemed to outweigh "ethnic" considerations by a ratio of 1.67 to 1.00. Beyond these three factors, there were two additional factors which appeared. Unfortunately, neither of these factors is easy to label. The last may be dismissed as an unimportant factor, since no candidate had appreciable value in its respect. The fourth factor, however, is of some statistical significance, accounting for 5 per cent of overall variance. At the moment, as is occasionally done in factor analytic work, this factor, although apparently a "real" factor, must be left undefined.

Some readers will wonder about individual, "personality" matters in the case of some candidates. While there are undoubtedly some voters who go to the polls armed with considerably detailed information concerning

the individual candidates, what evidence is available from the present study suggests that candidate "uniqueness" plays a smaller role than the predominant factors of "Party" and "Ethnic" affiliation. Assuming a reliability coefficient of .95 for the data (this is only an estimate, based on the assumption that the vast majority of voters would vote a second time rather in the way they voted on the first occasion), one may compute the proportion of overall variance attributable to "Candidate Uniqueness." As one would predict, this figure varies considerably from one candidate to the next. For all candidates this "Candidate Uniqueness" accounts for 20 per cent of total variance in the Fourth District, for 16 per cent of total variance in the Fifth District.

Summary statistics of the study may be found in Tables 1 & 2.

Table 1

Summary statistics for the precinct study.

A. Apportionment of total variance

Fourth District		Fifth District	
"Party"	80%	"Party"	46%
"Ethnic"	15%	"Ethnic"	33%
Unaccounted for	5%	"Experience?"	5%
		Unaccounted for	16%

B. Relative contributions of the factors to precinct variability (expressed in terms of ratios of square-roots of variance proportions)

Fourth District	Fifth District
"Party"/"Ethnic" = 2.31	"Party"/"Ethnic" = 1.18

Table 2

Summary statistics for the ballot study.

A. Apportionment of total variance

Fourth District		Fifth District	
"Party"	48%	"Party"	53%
"Ethnic"	23%	"Ethnic"	19%
"Experience"	4%	Unidentified	7%
"Uniqueness"	20%	"Uniqueness"	16%
Assumed error	5%	Assumed error	5%

B. Relative contributions of the factors to variability of voter reference for candidates (expressed in terms of square-roots of variance proportions)

Fourth District

"Party"/"Ethnic" = 1.44
 "Party"/"Uniqueness" = 1.55
 "Party"/"Experience" = 3.46

Fifth District

"Party"/"Ethnic" = 1.67
 "Party"/"Uniqueness" = 1.82

CONCLUSIONS

While the studies reported do not provide all of the answers to the question, "What happened in the 1954 election?" certain conclusions may justifiably be drawn. One is that ethnic considerations do enter into the vote in Hawaii. This will come as no surprise to the social scientist, who is aware of similar phenomena elsewhere, particularly in many mainland United States cities on the Eastern seaboard. Another conclusion is that, so far as the present studies can determine, the chief determiner of the vote in elections on Oahu is, apparently, voter preference for one party rather than the other. Ethnic matters, however, are of considerable importance, and, in a close election, could be decisive.

CHANGES IN THE SOCIAL SETTING OF THE HAWAIIAN ORAL TRADITION

Rubellite Kawena Kinney

The telling of foktales among the older people of my grandparents' generation in isolated Hawaiian communities was an active art. Since the Second World War and the 1946 tidal wave disaster, the older people who were devoted to the traditional way of life have diminished conspicuously; the young people have moved to the city to make a living or to acquire an advanced education. Although their acquaintance with older traditions is apt to weaken, their adjustment to another pattern of life will be affected by the degree to which these ancient observations are rooted in their present way of life. The decline in the oral arts is traceable to the disappearance of the communal way of life and simultaneously to the weakening of Hawaiian as a spoken language.

Anahola--An Isolated Hawaiian Community

The tiny village of Anahola, Kauai, illustrates the process by which the ancient Hawaiian traditions are being slowly undermined as outside influences impinge upon it to an increasing degree. Prior to World War II and the arrival of troops from the Mainland, Anahola was an isolated Hawaiian community in which the Hawaiian traditions prevailed to a considerable degree. Since transportation outside the community was very slight, the daily activities of the residents were centered around their homes and the church. Each family shared in the communal taro field, which was portioned out in sections, where the women, accompanied by their children, went to work early in the morning, planting and harvesting. The men went fishing, after working in the near-by plantation cane and pineapple fields. Each household provided its own supply of sweet potatoes, sugar cane, and poi, but there was considerable sharing between families. The children assisted in gardening and household tasks, but there was plenty of time for rest and play.

Recreation was limited to swimming near the dilapidated pier, climbing coconut trees, and playing baseball. Girls made their own jumping ropes from *naupaka* vines; boys used empty oil or kerosene drums for balancing races. A game called "uku boy," in which a fellow with imaginary head lice was chosen master chaser, was invented. The ribbing from Japanese waxed-paper umbrellas were saved for "pick-up sticks." Old men played cards and exchanged ghost stories with the womenfolk. Even at that time, however, none of the young people, except Ku'ulei who conversed with his blind grandmother, were fluent in the Hawaiian language, and thus, the conversations of the old folk were largely lost to them.

The old people occasionally talked about apparitions--a headless horseman, and the *huaka'i*, a train of walking Hawaiian spirits, who made a journey with their lighted torches at night, following an old trail from the mountains to the sea. The nights were feared; psychic forces of sorcery were believed to be in constant operation. A practitioner of black magic professed to have killed a rival by removing the entrails of a rooster, reciting the proper incantation, and delivering the rest of the rooster for his rival's consumption. Death came by excessive diarrhea, symbolized by the emptied cavity of the dead chicken. The sorcerer believed that this was the only way he could stop his neighbor from killing and eating his chickens when they went out of his yard. On one occasion I thought I saw the shadow of a man's head move across a white coconut tree trunk, lighted by the flicker of a kerosene lamp in old lady Ho'omana's house. It may have been a vivid dream; the atmosphere was filled with the aura of dreams.

When my father took us to the village for the first time in 1940, there was a seven year "jinx" on akule fishing, and it soon became evident this belief would be hard to break. Several attempts to catch akule were thwarted by sudden peculiar storms. When the fish were in the net, sharks would enter the bag and release the fish, or the weight of the fish alone would snap the net fibers. Father explained his plans for fishing to the villagers, and although they were willing to offer assistance, they were skeptical as to his success, saying that he would never catch any fish.

Lopaka, the best fisherman there and famous for his "good eye" and shrill whistle which could be heard for a distance of three miles, was hired to sight fish and whistle for the crew. There were nine men in my father's crew--six Hawaiians and two Filipinos. They erected a boat-house of galvanized iron roofing on the beach and set up living quarters in an abandoned shack. Since we had no house of our own, we stayed on the beach at night or in the homes of friends. In the interior of these homes, countless objects hung from the rafters--quilting boards, horse saddles, garden tools, bunches of bananas, and Chinese pork sausages. Kerosene lamps furnished light at night. Food was preserved by salting and drying. Butter and milk could not keep without refrigeration, and so these were bought early in the morning at the store. There were two electric generators in the area, but they were not owned by any of the Hawaiians, who had neither need for electricity nor the means to acquire it.

Lopaka's whistle sounded one day and the village people ran to the beach. The evening sun was already going down, and there was a little rain. When the catch was in, I kept my own share of headless, smashed, unmarketable fish, and following the example of the rest, I hid the rest in the sand. By nightfall the catch had been divided, and a small remainder was left for sale. We left Anahola a week later, following a luau (feast) held for the crew and their success. We then learned that my grandmother had discovered, by inquiring of the community elders, the "key" to "open" the bay, locked by the "jinx"--the first akule fish caught in a hukilau. She buried the fish in the sand with its head facing seaward, according to instructions, and this observance was supposed to have released my father and his crew from the tabu.

My father's reaction showed the influence of changing religious attitudes. He respected the old Hawaiian beliefs, having had many experiences with the ghost dog, Poki, who owned the spring water hole in the area of our family property in Lawai. Poki is the Hawaiian adaptation of the English name of Captain Metcalf's dog, Boss, on the ship, Eleanor, which was involved in the Olowalu massacre in the eighteenth century. Stories associated with Poki are still in circulation. Wahiawa and Lawai on Kauai are supposed to belong to the "dog." In the 1930's the McBryde Plantation constructed a double water dam to irrigate the cane fields in the Wahiawa Gulch, which belonged to Poki. Laborers reported the appearance of a dog pawing at the bottom of the lower dam. The Hawaiian warnings of flood were remembered only after the dams both burst, and workers and families were carried away. My father will never believe that these occurrences have no natural explanation, although he continues to hear the ulaleo, a voice that tells a fisherman where to find fish and to see the 'ohi'a fire-works off the Kalalau cliffs, lighting the coast on a stormy night when his sampan is about to be wrecked on the reef. My father's attitude, as at Anahola, is matter-of-fact, although he learned all he will ever know of the sea and fishing from old Hawaiian fishermen.

Anahola Revisited

When I went back to Anahola in 1950, the picture of life in the village was still serene, but the effects of military occupation had left their mark. Ho'omana, whose little house we had occupied, had lost his policeman's job and had spent his last years in a mental hospital. Ku'ulei had sold his blind grandmother's only brood of chickens to the soldiers and gone to the city. The taro fields were overgrown with swamp weeds, and the 'o'opu fish had been obliterated by the tidal wave. No sight is more disheartening to an old Hawaiian than this kind of loss; and those who remain, therefore, harbor many hostilities toward outsiders who inquire about the history of the locale. If its descendants know anything about it, they wouldn't be able to reproduce it in the true Hawaiian fashion. It is not from lack of interest or lack of education that they have no ability. Rather, it is expected that when the atmosphere, which is conducive to myth-making, disintegrates under the impact of many cultural changes, the corresponding desire to maintain the earlier religious beliefs also weakens; and although people might tell these same tales and read them in books, their attitude of faith in them declines. It is no longer a dramatic part of their lives.

Anahola received electricity for the first time on December 25, 1956, and putting away its old kerosene lamps, hoisted Christmas trees with lighted bulbs. A week before this historic event, Lopaka, aged ninety, promised an audience of three Caucasians and myself to record his stories of Ko-welo-'ula, the ku'ula (stone imbued with mana for fishing) of Anahola, and the spear thrust through Mount Kalalea. He was flattered by the cordial interest shown him by people who knew no Hawaiian. When we left, he insisted that we take the gallon of wine, of which he had served us while visiting. On Christmas Day I returned with a tape recorder and spent two hours conversing with him alone. He refused to repeat the story of Ko-welo-'ula and the name of the warrior who speared Mount Kalalea but agreed to recount his life history. Across the street from Lopaka's house I was rebuffed by the reputed "best" storyteller in the vicinity and went to a neighboring house to record Hawaiian singing. Three drunken women provided the song, "Nani Kalalea La," and a sermon on "Iesu Kristo, the second Adamu," which was the only story they could remember. I left with the impression that there was only one surviving old-timer with a memory of old Hawaiian traditions; and Anahola could not claim him as a native son, since Lopaka had been born on Maui.

Family Traditions

The strongest source of Hawaiian influence in our own family was my grandmother, who was born at Puna, Hawaii, on August 28, 1880, of Hawaiian-Chinese descent. She taught elementary school on Kauai after graduating from the Kamehameha School for Girls. Before her marriage to the Reverend Solomon Kamaha Kaulili, a minister employed by the Hawaiian Board of Missions at several Hawaiian churches in Hanalei, Anahola, Lihue, and Huleia, she was Kawena Ah Chong. They met at the Koloa Hawaiian Church where she directed the choir. After my grandfather's early death, my grandmother continued the written genealogy which he had started. The book is valued as a sacred possession, even more priceless than the Hawaiian Bible, and its contents, information about the particular family aumakua (guardian spirits), meanings of names and conditions under which names were given, dates of birth, marriage, and death, i.e., information protecting and preserving the family identity--are never divulged to anyone not a close relative on pain of death or severe illness.

Home, to my grandmother, was a house which she owned in Lawai. Tall eucalyptus, guava, hau, and coconut trees conceal a back-yard gulch with abandoned taro patches which were cultivated by my grandparents years ago, before poi was manufactured at mills. In an environment such as this, permeated by a feeling of contact with the older way of life, my brothers and sisters and I grew up. Our attitude toward dreams, tales, and Hawaiian traditions was dominated by the presence of sacred relics and stories that accompanied them; it was serious and uncritical--certainly not the attitude of children who are lulled to sleep by enjoyable fantasies of gold carriages and fairies. We were always reminded of the veracity of what was told us; and our belief was further strengthened by a fear of transgressing family laws and traditional customs.

These loyalties were maintained by behavior patterns commonly practiced at home. Rubbish was never swept out of the doors at night; to do so meant loss of luck and fortune. No one voiced a wish or aspiration before the bowl of poi because the wish might never come true. Lying down while eating was an omen of sickness. Whistling at night was prohibited because it summoned spirits of the dead. Cutting hair, trimming fingernails and toenails, hammering, or chopping at night were also prohibited and left only for the daytime. Discipline was very exacting. We never went to a hospital for medical treatment unless surgery was an absolute necessity or sickness persistent. La'au-kahea, a method of curing illness through prayer, incantations with healing formulae, and stylized gestures of massage, were practiced as home remedies. The chants are learned and sustained by only one member in a family at a time unless strict precautions are observed to prevent the death of another member, since such powers are supernaturally ordained. None of the la'au-kahea chants were passed down by my grandmother, now deceased, to any other member of the family for future preservation. In our generation, therefore, this ancient art of cure will be completely lost. La'au-kahea chants are private family property so that chants are not transferable from house to house, nor are the methods of applying la'au-kahea ever the same. This means that chants accompanying curing ceremonies are probably less current today than are chants which are allowed for public demonstration.

Storytelling

The meager distribution of folk tales today is also a regrettable fact. Hawaiian informants are particular about their tales. My grandmother was a quiet storyteller, but she was deliberate in her intention, which was to make us recognize the importance of respecting Hawaiian traditions. She refrained from divulging information to any audience for which a particular story was ill-suited, especially if such an audience was merely curious and exhibited no real interest or respect. Most Hawaiian storytellers today don't trust their own knowledge; this was also true of her. When this paper was in progress and I requested her assistance on certain stories, she distrusted her memory and after subsequent negative dreams, withheld it completely; and in those stories to which she did contribute, after laboring over the question of whether it was ethical or not, she obscured important details. This reluctance may be traced to the Hawaiians' censure of narratives which are neither true nor complete. A very prominent storyteller on Kauai went through an old Hawaiian story of a woman who had the power to send her eyes to Onomea Arch to sight fish, in this way building a huge cache of stored fish in a cave while starving her blind husband to death. This was done until a kahuna caught her eyes in wooden sockets and removed them. When the storyteller was requested to repeat the same information for recording

purposes, he hesitated and refused because he had forgotten the woman's name and was afraid that the incomplete information might make me ill.

Storytelling in my home was not limited to any particular time, although evenings and mealtimes were preferable. Some tales were old, especially those that my grandmother had learned during her childhood or while traveling through other islands. Others were peculiar incidents in family history, the classics of mythical heroes and gods and goddesses, and those that explained peculiarities in rock formations and other natural phenomena. Dreams often produced good storytelling material that was not traditional. In the same category belonged ghost anecdotes that circulated among the family as personal experiences. They illustrated how the story-making process occurs.

In my grandmother's house are two stone relics. One is a woman in a sitting position; her left breast is gone. She is cared for carefully, since she reputedly brought great fortunes to her possessors. Because she is associated with the sea, shell leis are requested from Niihau. My family provided her with mauna loa leis; and my grandmother frequently smelled the fragrance of the mauna loa, while she was at the seashore picking ophi. Ho'omana, on a visit from Anahola, rejected the story of this stone and insulted it. While he was sipping a can of beer, a woman's hand struck him hard across his face, whereupon he fell on his knees, crawled to the stone and asked forgiveness for his insults, thereupon confessing that years ago he had struck his wife across her face in rage and blinded her.

The other stone had no previous tradition. It was found by my sister among other stones in the taro patches near our house. She brought it to my grandmother for no other reason than to prove she had carried it out of the gulch by herself. That night, as my grandmother crocheted in the parlor, she heard a peculiar noise, as if someone had flung something from the porch into the lily garden. The next morning she discovered two little stones in the garden; they had been placed on top of the large stone. She had dreamt during the night that a huge Hawaiian mandrill in a red malo reproached her for having removed the huge stone from the taro patch, saying, "I gave the stone to the water."

What I have said about these two relics shows how incidents are frequently retold. Tales occasionally start in this manner. Strange occurrences and supernatural experiences swiftly following each other argue a direct causal relationship. When the incidents are combined, the results are stylistically embellished, but the supernatural incidents alone speak for the value of the tale. An amusing, compact anecdote then develops which strengthens an existing belief in spirits, other worlds, the mana of sacred objects, and the truth of dreams. A popular family tale that developed similarly from a supernatural manifestation is told of Manuel Carvalho, a Portuguese family friend who worked at the Koloa stone-crusher with my father. As he passed our house one day, he saw three men dressed in odd clothes, so he stopped, offering them a ride to Koloa in his car. They refused, saying that they preferred walking to riding, thanked him, and promised to meet him there. When he reached Chang Fook Kee restaurant in Koloa fifteen minutes later, the same three men were sitting there, as they had promised, waiting for him. Numerous reports of similar encounters with the same three men have been made. The only explanation available is that there are three skulls sitting on the glass case in our dining room. They were found at Ke-one-loa, Koloa, and presented to my uncle by his boy-scout troop. They are the bones of three who fell in the battle between Oahu and Kauai chiefs at Mahalepu and Ke-one-loa, meaning "the-long-sands."

In contrast to these anecdotes are traditional family stories that have genealogical significance. Two have been provided by grandmother, who shortened them considerably. The first story, The Fisherman of Mo'omomi, depicts animal-human transformation at birth, that is, how miscarriages are transformed into animal beings and become family guardians. Ancient Hawaiians took the fetus at a miscarriage to the sea or to an isolated fresh water pond where they dedicated it to a protective animal spirit. The second story, The Pointed-Head Kahuna of Molokai, dramatizes the battle for control between two magicians, one equipped with the evil forces of death sorcery and the other with the power of healing.

The Fisherman of Mo'omomi

Kawena Kaulili

The fisherman of Mo'omomi was a good father. His home was there in Kalae, Molokai. He was married to his wife. When the mother had been with child for three months, she had a miscarriage. Because he regretted this miscarriage, the good father decided to take these blood clots and cast them into the sea of Mo'omomi, and they became guardian sharks of the sea. He is a well-known native resident of this place.

One day he went fishing, and when he came to the beach, he quickly prepared his hook with bait and going into the sea, swam to a place where he decided to set his line. Then he returned to dry land, watching his line alertly, and then fastened it. Not long on dry land, he felt his line tugging so he began to pull his line in and beached it on dry land. It was an olo fish.

He took it a second time and cast it, and then he returned to dry land, alertly watching his line. It tugged instantly, so he pulled his line in again. It was an olo fish.

For the third time he took it and cast it, but this time he saw something covered with kala seaweed. And as he swam back, he became so filled with fear that he fainted, and his sense was gone from him.

After a half hour's time, he saw at first that he had been brought up on shore by someone, and when he looked, he saw surely that they were baby sharks. He looked again and saw these sharks with a man-eating shark, and these were certainly the ones who had brought and beached him on dry land. His twins had come to help him, and strange to be seen by the eye, they kicked the man-eating shark up, and it hung between two rocks.

The father was very surprised and began to go to the place in order to see this thing that had been overthrown. When he got there he saw that it was a woman shark with ear-rings, and that it was dropping a well of tears from its eyes.

Then two of his children arrived, wondering why their father had stayed at the beach so long, so the father sent one of his children back to tell the family, and they came without hesitation.

One of the children and the father went to get and carry firewood and piled it where the shark was. When the family came, they quickly began to set it afire and burned this bad thing.

After the work was over, they remained to pray because if God had not sent this means of deliverance, the father of this story would have been killed.

This is a true story, because the people went to see with their own eyes the place where this shark was vanquished.

The motif of shark-human transformation in this story is very common in other shark stories which circulate today. The old favorite shark story of Neneue, which also contains this motif, tells of a predatory shark man who lived in Waipio Valley, Hawaii. A Puna variant told by my grandmother contains the plot essentials and the basic motifs. A man covered his back with a red bandana while he worked in the taro patches with his fellows. Whenever people passed by, he asked them, "Where are you going?" They replied, "We're going to the beach to fish and pick 'opihi." "Then the shark shall have his breakfast," he rejoined. When they were out of sight, he removed the bandana and plunged into a stream that emptied into the ocean. The bandana covered a huge shark's mouth. While they were fishing, a huge shark attacked one of the party. He "ate" many people in his time until he was caught.

A Waipio Valley variant, told by John Kaopua of the University Campus, adds the following--that the waters of a deep pond below the cliffs of Waipio flowed into a fresh water stream emptying into the ocean. Beside the stream was the King's taro patch, eight acres in size. Here the men and women worked daily to increase the abundance of their harvests. Beside the taro fields, near the shore upon which grew gigantic coconut trees one hundred and fifty feet tall, was a road where fisherman passed on their way to sea. Neneue, a kupua, that is, a half-animal man with the power of transforming easily from one form into another, used to work in the taro fields. He concealed a shark mouth on his back under a red cloth. He asked innocent passers-by, "Are you going down?" If they replied yes, he went to a cave behind a pond, plunged into the river, claimed his victims, and returned to work in his human form. A few young men discovered his under-sea cave while swimming and followed it to the taro patch. They devised a trap of olona fiber across the mouth of the cave, captured Neneue in the net, built a fire, and burned him.

Christian concepts of God as the benevolent creator and father, of evil and sin, of the treachery of Satan, are frequently incorporated in modern tales. They betray either the recent creating or modifying of tales. A storyteller often deviates from his narrative to give occasional miniature sermons on Christian morality. While John Kaopua was telling the story of Neneue, he digressed on ethics so much that it was difficult at times to follow the drift of the narrative. He told the story with gusto, laughing frequently, especially at points where the cunning and slyness of Neneue were most humorous, and making all kinds of dramatic motions with his hands, garden tools, and entire body. In contrast to my grandmother's quiet style of narrating, his was vigorous and dramatic, but he became philosophically interpretive when the more serious implications of the narrative touched him.

An examination of the Fisherman of Mo'omomi story gives an excellent example of the religious significance in Hawaiian tales. The conclusion reads, "After the job, they remained to pray because if God had not sent this means of deliverance, the father of this story would have been killed." This illustrates the didactic purpose of these tales as well as 1) the influence of Christian concepts upon story modification, and 2) the religious tendencies of the Hawaiian people. Mary Kawena Pukui, commenting on the second point, said that the intensity of the religious motivation of the Hawaiians accounted for the tremendous success which Christianity enjoyed in Hawaii. After only thirty years' instruction in religious education and English, the Hawaiians were dispatching their own preachers to the south Pacific.

The written version of my grandmother's second story, The Pointed-Head Kahuna of Molokai, contains the stylistic convention of enumeration that occurs in Fisherman of Mo'omomi. An incident frequently repeats itself three times before the denouement. In the Mo'omomi story, the fisherman sets his lines three times before the villain shark camouflaged with kala seaweed appears and makes him faint. If one should view this from an analytical point of view, enumeration as such is a device contributing to the length of a narrative. An interesting variation of this technique may be observed in the development of the plot of The Pointed-Head Kahuna of Molokai in which an aspiring student of sorcery is forced to return three times on an errand before his master's request of the victim is granted.

The Pointed-Head Kahuna of Molokai

Kawena Kaulili

The legend of this kahuna as told to me on Kauai, was that he lived at Kaunakakai, and this kahuna brought terror over all of Molokai. This man knew nothing about brotherhood, and he felt that the important thing was to take the life of this and that spirit.

His place was situated within a house somewhat near the road frequented by everyone either going on foot or riding horseback. This kahuna stayed within his house with his eyes on all the people passing by--the aged men, the old women, young folks, little children, and even the babies carried by the mothers, and finished them off with death on the road. Because people were meeting with this lesson so often, they decided to be alert and very quiet every time he came to the place.

There was indeed another old man living at Kalae who was famed for healing the sick who went to him. His name was Ku.

This kahuna heard about things concerning this old man, and jealousy and killing men quickly entered his thoughts.

During those days, young folk came to ask him to teach them the business of kahuna, as he could do it. He gave his approval. So these young folk learned as his students until their uniki (a ritual in which the student performed to prove that he had learned sorcery) ceremonies neared.

The rule of the uniki is to get a human body, bring it before the teacher, and kill him. This is the ceremony to be fulfilled by the student in order to graduate. At this occasion, the kahuna thought of something to do, so he made himself sick by causing himself to become blind with a spider's web. He called one of his pupils to come and asked him, "Will you please go and fetch Ku, the medicine kahuna living at Kalae. Tell him to come and heal me because I am weak." The pupil obeyed. He went to the home of Ku to tell him his teacher's desire, but the family at home told him he was not at home.

The teacher for the second time sent for him but did not get him.

The teacher for the third time sent for him, but the brother-in-law of Ku said, "You won't find Ku here." The young man told him about the weakness of his teacher, and that Ku was the only one who could help him. The brother-in-law had compassion on him and told him, "The only way you'll ever get Ku is to come with a choice pig and sacrifice it to him."

The young man returned with this decision and told his teacher that it was right. One day the young man took a choice pig as he had been told before to do. When he arrived Ku was there and was looking at him. The young man told him about his teacher's weakness and that he was the only right person to go quickly and cure him.

Ku then said this: "Your teacher isn't sick. He wants one of us to die today. I am the one to die when you perform you 'ai-lolo.'" So Ku said to the young man, "Go back. Today you'll know that I have told you the truth."

When the young man had departed, Ku turned to his brother-in-law and rebuked him. "In a short while we two together with the rest of the family are going to see this day my death at the hands of the pointed-head kahuna of Kaunakakai." The family was moved by sadness on account of this mission.

Ku and his brother-in-law went ahead. Ku said to him, "Stay close to me and go down like me," pointing with his finger. "I will chant."

All these things were fulfilled, and when they came near to the house, (at that time) the kahuna appeared and said to Ku, "Here is your house, just like this (forming a diamond with his forefingers and thumbs)."

The family and the pupils of the kahuna saw this thing, the whirling of the body of Ku within the diamond house that the kahuna had made, and the voice of Ku, and he disappeared and only the brother-in-law of Ku was standing.

The kahuna fell down and died.

The family of Ku left immediately and returned to Kalae. When they arrived at home, Ku was sitting there in his real body. Afterward the spirits of this and that from the east, west, upland, and seaward rested.

It is perhaps true that the art of folktale telling in Hawaii will be short-lived, and that the tales told today can hardly match the classic greatness of the epics collected by Emerson and Westervelt and other scholars of the folktale in Hawaii. But the little that does remain provides an interesting insight into the present acculturation problems of the Hawaiian people and can provide information that may clarify their particular needs, aspirations, and interests. Acculturation speaks of admitting changes; and, as any Hawaiian would say, (punning on the word loli from ho'ololi, to change), "Nui na loli iloko o ke kahekakai," which literally means, "Many are the sea cucumbers in the seapool. . . there certainly are many changes here now."

This study was undertaken in a seminar on "Personality Adjustment in a Multi-Cultural Environment" as a means of defining some of the significant values which persons of Japanese ancestry inevitably encounter in the Hawaiian setting. Especial attention has been directed to some of the central and basic values of the two cultures which sometimes actively conflict with each other, but which, in other instances, we believe, may readily supplement each other.

Attitudes Toward Nature

Humanity and nature, to the American, are two separate entities. Humanity is part of nature, it is true, but the American conceives of nature as something that is given for him. He always thinks himself as standing apart from nature, viewing it as something other than himself. He alters and uses it for his own benefit. To the Japanese, humanity is an integral part of nature. He tries to fit himself into it, accepting nature as he finds it. Consequently, the Japanese does not have much curiosity about it. He does not try to find out what makes it "tick" because he has never thought of nature as something to be investigated or tampered with. Rather, he becomes one with it in spirit and finds enjoyment and well-being as a part of nature.

What happens when the natural elements play against him? The Japanese tries to avoid this if he can by various superstitious means. For instance, each village has a huge drum, about five or six feet in diameter, which they beat during times of drought and thus beg the gods to give them rain. Or a palsied person is said to have a fox residing in him. He will go to someone, usually a woman, who is supposed to have powers to drive out the evil fox.¹ One of the most typical and often used expressions of the Japanese is *shikata ga nai*. This means "there is nothing that one can do about it." Even if there is no rain after they have beat the drums or if they have not beat the drums because they have accepted the fact of rainless days as the way of nature and the crops are ruined, then they resignedly say *shikata ga nai*. If the palsied man get no better or if he dies, they again say *shikata ga nai*. People accept such things stoically and go on planting rice which may be ruined again and bearing children who may become palsied in their old age.

The American has a different attitude toward the calamitous workings of nature. He tries to do something about it by controlling the forces of nature. If a flood devastates property and human lives are lost, then the American tries to prevent such "needless" destruction by building dams and dykes, and by reforestation, etc. Medical doctors and scientists are constantly at work trying to find a way to cure and prevent disease. They have the financial support of millions of their fellow countrymen.

¹ It is interesting to note that there are persons of such powers among the Japanese in Hawaii and many people have gone to them, having more faith in them than in regular physicians.

advancements, as a result of careful observation of the world about him. The Japanese, on the other hand, does not come to nature to observe but to admire it. He has the aesthetic or the artist's approach in contrast to the American's scientific approach. These two attitudes of mind need not be mutually exclusive. Of course, there are certain things that are easier to observe and analyze than others and certain things that are easier to admire and contemplate with satisfaction than others. But it is possible for one person to assume both attitudes of mind toward the same fact of nature or experience.

The scientific mind selects what can be measured and counted as being of most importance. It investigates things in order to find out what are the characteristics that make them useful or useable.

The artistic mind does not seek analytical or intellectual knowledge. Rather, he tries to get an increasing familiarity with the thing itself by taking a contemplative and emotional attitude toward it. A thing's importance does not lie in its utilitarian value but in being what it is--be it an object of nature or a man-made work of art. The individuality of the object is what interests the artist. He tries to fill his mind with the object in order to remember or to realize more fully its unique qualities. He wants to imprint its image upon his mind, reviving and deepening the impression it first made. An artist in reflection passes from concentrating upon the easy and superficial beauty to deeper and more difficult forms, from the obvious beauty which is evanescent and fleeting to beauties that are enduring and eternal. He realizes the changeableness of things of experience and so tries to immortalize the evanescent, thus making the passing a possession forever. He tries to prevent what is unique from being wholly reabsorbed into the common dust from which it arose.

The American, under the influence of the scientific attitude of mind, has often lost touch with the other method of viewing and living in his universe. It is a pity when one becomes alienated and oblivious to the beauties of nature. We saw an all too typical example of this last year. We had taken a walk into a delightful forest when we suddenly came upon a student sitting by a quiet pond in a restful, meditative mood, we thought, until we approached closer and saw that he was listening to a popular program on his portable radio. What an incongruity! He couldn't hear the songs of the birds and insects, the sounds of the breezes as they went through the budding trees. How could he really enjoy the beauty of the May Apples first sprouting from the ground or the delicate but overwhelming beauty of the Dogwoods in full bloom? Did he see the reflections in the water or the blue of the sky above? We doubt that he even noticed the fascinating though destructive work of the tent caterpillars which had attacked one tree.

It is soothing, no doubt, to listen to a jazz singer singing the blues or an orchestra playing dreamy dance music but blessed is he who can also be soothed and find inner peace and tranquility by listening to the quiet voices and messages of nature--be it in one's first view of majestic Mt. Rainier far removed from the world of men or in the contemplation of a single flower in one's own home or garden.

There is an enjoyment of life for its own sake, the simple life and an appreciation of one's leisure time. Life doesn't have to be filled with material accumulations and one can find enjoyment from his own inner resources without having to be entertained in the American sense of the word.

The basic conception of Japanese flower arrangement and dwarfed tree culture is to make it look natural--in semblance of the way flowers, plants, trees and shrubs actually grow in their natural habitat. In contrast, the American tries to make them conform to his particular ideas of composition or fancy. Japanese architecture is very much in vogue just now. One wonders if it is not just a vogue which will pass on and one day become dated. We wish that more people, and especially those who have come in contact with and learned to appreciate the Oriental concept and way of life, would make it a permanent contribution to the field of American architecture. The basic conception here again is to make the house blend in with its natural surroundings. We admit this would be difficult to do in a crowded city situation. But, too often, even where there is an opportunity to do otherwise the American builds a house that stands out as a man-made edifice, glorifying man, and showing his inventive genius. We suggest showing and enhancing the natural grain of the wood instead of covering it up with paint or paper. Make use of rocks and stones. Let the house be a part of the garden, separated by glass and screen to be sure, but nevertheless let it be built to give this feeling.

We admit that too great emphasis on the artistic attitude of mind has its pitfalls. The artistic attitude can lead to irrationality because of its emotional nature. We are aware of the fact that the Japanese were considered the fiercest warriors of Eastern Asia and the Samurai was held up as the ideal for 700 years in Japan. This warrior could come home after his maneuvers, unbuckle his sword, take off his uniform, slip into a loose Japanese kimono and then spend an hour or so in quiet meditation, sipping tea in a room set aside for this purpose. Or he might tend the flowers in his garden or sit down to write a little poetry in graceful strokes of his brush. The warrior is gone and the lover of beauty, the poet and artist, is there. But let the word come that the Emperor has been insulted or that Japan is in danger and he joyfully dons his uniform and eagerly rushes off to war.

Attitude Toward Society

The American family consists of members respected as individuals. It is based on the relation between parents and children and on the need of children for care and protection. It is held together by mutual affection which may lead to cooperation and common interest. American society is composed of responsible individuals, each of whom is valued for what he is and not for his position. We regard any office or position or even commercial enterprises existing for the purpose of serving other members of society. Public servants can be deposed whenever they do not perform the service expected of them. Even the President of the United States can be impeached and a father can have his child taken away from him if he is judged unfit to be a father.

The American government is the rule of itself by the citizens who make up the total nation. It was plainly stated in the Preamble of our Declaration of Independence:

We hold these truths to be self-evident; That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it

is the right of the people to alter or abolish it and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

America has faith in equal and inviolable rights and the right to better one's condition in life. Such ideas are totally unknown to the ordinary Japanese--such ideas as that of all men being created equal, the Creator, unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; government deriving its power from the consent of the governed; and the right of the people to alter or abolish its government and institute a new one.²

The basic unit in Japan is the family and the real society in which individuals move is among the members of their own family and their relatives. There is warmth of feeling only toward blood relatives. The larger Japanese society is a congregate of clans which are composed of families and each clan is represented by the patriarch who is the head of it. Japanese use the word "represented" but its meaning is quite different from that which is used in America. In America one who represents knows the wishes of those whom he represents, voices them, and acts accordingly. In Japan the representative speaks and acts as he sees fit and those whom he represents speak and act in accordance with the definition of their representative. They make his words and acts their own. This accounts for the Japanese mentality which can never make up its own mind. The individual never thinks as an individual. He always belongs to something and when he speaks it is as a member of the total whole to which he belongs, be it his family, his school if a student, his company if a salaried man. When abroad he speaks as a representative of his country and never as an individual. Among the Japanese who are living in foreign countries, they always regard each other as members of a certain Prefecture, town, or village.

There is an inviolable hierarchical order which the Japanese received from Taoism and this has governed Japan since feudal days. It is called the natural order of society. Americans would question the word 'natural'. All human relationships are governed by this order:

<u>kun-shin</u>	-- Emperor and subject,
<u>fu-shi</u>	-- father and child,
<u>fu-fu</u>	-- husband and wife,
<u>cho-ya</u>	-- elder and junior,
<u>shi-tei</u>	-- teacher and pupil,
<u>ho-yu</u>	-- among friends.

The first one of each pair is always considered to be above the second. He is the one who governs and the other is the governed. The only exception is among friends where there is no distinction. The man above you in the Japanese social scheme is not taken as a person when he orders or governs but as a depersonalized symbol of this hierarchical order.

² Mr. Himeno remembers how mystified he was in Japan when he studied the history of England (from which we derive our ideas of individual rights) and how the English people deposed their kings. He couldn't understand how a people could do such a thing. When he had only his Japanese background it was altogether illogical to him.

The source of cohesion in Japanese society or the basis of social relationships is revealed by the five inviolable distinctions which were taught in the schools by order of the Ministry of Education. These relationships are in the following compound words:

<u>jo-ge</u>	-- superior and inferior relations,
<u>ki-sen</u>	-- upper and lower class relations,
<u>son-pl</u>	-- the respected and the despised relations,
<u>ji-sha</u> and <u>hi-jisha</u>	-- he who governs and the governed relations.

Again, he who is the first part of each compound word is he who governs, teaches, or commands and he who is represented in the second half of the compound word is always on the receiving end. One cannot even speak the Japanese language without using either a verbal ending for a person below you or above you. These distinctions are in the very language itself.

The basic human relationship consists in submission or absolute loyalty within the family. There are no ethical principles guiding relationships with people who do not fall in the hierarchical order or distinctions as far as that person is concerned. Morality consists in keeping the above distinctions and never violating the hierarchical order. They have no ethical God to whom they are morally responsible. A beggar child on the streets or a person who is badly hurt in an accident, if they are not members of your family or if they do not come within the hierarchical order as far as you are concerned, can exercise no moral claim upon you and you are under no obligation to do anything for them. You can pass by on the other side of the street and no one, not even yourself, will condemn you. Traditional Japanese ethics is based on this principle and it was the ideology of the governing class of the feudal period. In the Japanese family children are not allowed to talk back to their parents, the wife is a servant to her husband, and in the army a soldier's lack of humility toward his superior officer became lése majesté (crime against the sovereign).

Mikio Sumiya gives an illuminating illustration, however, macabre it may sound to American ears, in his book Nippon Shakai to Kirisuto Kyo (Japanese Society and Christianity). A father approached the chief of police in his town and asked him to try to change his son's mind because he had been converted to Christianity. The chief of police used his authority and tried to change the boy but he failed. Thereupon he called the father and told him, "Such a child is good for nothing. Any further effort on my part is useless. Take him home but a child is the possession of the parent. Boil and eat him or fry and eat him, I don't care. Do with him as you please!"

Over and over again we are told that submission is the whole duty of those in inferior positions. There is extensive teaching about this in Japan but there is nothing said about what is expected from those who govern or command by those insubordinate positions. We take exception to Ruth Benedict's statement in her book The Chrysanthemum and the Sword that those in superior positions act as trustees rather than as arbitrary autocrats. She says the father or elder brother does not have unconditional authority. It is true, that he must act responsibly for the honor of the house, but that only means that he observe his position in relation to those above him. If a father, for example, wishes to squander his money in gambling, mistresses, or drinking and his children do not have clothes or food, no one criticizes him. As long as he treats his superiors with proper and due respect, he is fulfilling all his obligations. There is no teaching about what those in superior positions should do for those below them. Thus the actions of the privileged persons cannot help but become

arbitrary. If he treats his inferiors well then it is regarded that he has acted out of his good grace and not out of a sense of duty. If he does not treat them well there is no condemnation. There is very definite teaching about the duties of the inferior and he is condemned if he does not obey or respect those above him, no matter how unjust or cruel his superior may be. It is only a one-way street.

In order to really understand the social institutions of Japan it is necessary to go back into its feudalism. Japan is only three generations from feudalism³ and it is a known fact that the habits formed under institutions outlive the institutions themselves. But Japan was more feudalistic than most other countries and the passing of feudalism has made little change, even allowing for the shorter lapse of time.

The Japanese still live by what centuries of tradition, formal instruction, and experience have taught them. Feudalism is the prime fact in Japan's development, in its contemporary social organization, and its psychology. Why is this so? What was unique about Japan that there has been so little change since the passing of feudalism?

We must give credit to the statesmen who guided the country through the transition from the overthrow of the Tokugawa Shogunate, following America's forcible intrusion into Japan's seclusion, to the restoration of the ancient Imperial institution to actual power. They saw the danger of a vacuum that the breakdown of one set of traditions and values without substitution of another would incur. As far as we can tell from the records of written history, scant respect was shown the Monarchy by a succession of military dynasties up until the time of the Meiji Restoration. The present position of the throne is the result of one of history's boldest efforts to carry a nation across the gulf of time in one single span. They combined the ancient Priest Kingship with a modern constitutional monarchy and substituted the Emperor for the Shogunate. He became the new focal point of loyalties. During the feudal days the Samurai were a superior caste, the professional warriors. The essence of the Samurai code and the basic principle of the feudal system was 'loyalty' to a degree not found in any other feudal system. And the Samurai were admired and looked up to by the common people.

With the Restoration the Samurai class was abolished and the common people--farmers, craftsmen, and merchants--were elevated to the position where they could exercise the same loyalty shown by the Samurai themselves. Now they had the right to bear arms. The sword was the mark of the superior man and this had been the exclusive right and privilege of the Daimyo and Samurai. With the Restoration of 1868 universal conscription was introduced and everyone was eligible to bear arms and to serve the nation's highest lord--the Emperor. This gave the masses a social and human dignity they had never possessed. The Samurai code became the code of the masses and they regarded it as the source of national strength. It underlay all Japanese education and so we had the Japan we knew until World War II.

³ Mrs. Himeno recalls her father telling of his grandfather who lived through the Restoration. One of the orders was that all men had to cut off their queues and great-grandfather wept when he had to have his cut. It was at this time that commoners were allowed to use surnames.

Now when we turn to the American we find that it is all too easy for him to forget that he is to be a responsible individual. He values his liberty and individualism very highly but this spirit of individualism needs to be tempered with some of the sense of responsibility and respect for the larger whole which we find in Japan. One can admire the spirit of independence behind the American who says that he owes nothing to any man. But any reflection will immediately bring to mind one's indebtedness in the first place to one's parents and family for his birth and care during his earliest years and his wider indebtedness for his education and well-being in later years to an increasing number of people. The older the individual becomes, the more he realizes the debt he owes to those of previous generations and the social heritage, as well to the community and nation in which he lives.

Respect, to the American, means to have a sense of admiration for what the person is in himself and it has little or nothing to do with the person's position. The American will do things for people to whom he feels an emotional attachment--he likes them, loves them, or feels sorry for them. He tends to forget obligations to those for whom he has no emotional attachment. The Japanese person does not have such a capricious guide for his actions. Society sees to it that he does not forget. It would be ideal if within the same individual the sense of obligation could be combined with warmth of feeling and love toward those, who in the Japanese sense are worthy of such devotion.

Take the problem of marriage. It is causing increasing concern in many circles that the American ratio of divorces to marriages of one to three or four is all too high. Romantic love is considered to be the sufficient grounds for marriage or divorce and this springs from thinking of marriage only as an individual's right and not taking into consideration his responsibility to society. Parents, with their years of experience, may not think someone suitable for their child but they usually say, "Well, he's the one getting married and if they love each other that is the main thing." But if romantic love is gone, there is nothing to hold the couple together. This is essentially an irresponsible attitude for a member of society to take, and omits the consideration of the other important factors entering into the establishment of a new home. Japanese marriage is a matter for the families involved, which makes for stability. A family literally gives a daughter away or else acquires a bride. Her name is taken out of her family register and transferred to that of the son's family.

The Americanization of the young people of Japanese ancestry frequently finds expression in a failure to show the expected courtesies to the older generation. The younger generation, commonly assume that they have American support in rejecting parental authority and values, whereas the older generation naturally assume that the traditional code of respect and deference will be observed. It is by no means clear, however, that the American spirit of individualism and independence involves a denial of any bonds of duty and obligation to society. Certainly no one can go through life saying or doing exactly what he pleases whenever the impulse arises, and courtesy and respect are controls essential in any functioning society.

On the other hand, a blind acceptance of traditional authority, has equally deleterious consequences. It is sometimes charged that second and third generation Japanese in Hawaii have been so thoroughly indoctrinated with attitudes of respect for constituted authority, that they are hesitant to express their own thoughts, if, indeed, they have any thoughts of their own. In such cases, more self expression could be encouraged, without necessarily sacrificing respect for the thoughts and expression of others. The child need not rule the parents in order to obtain adequate self expression.

Finally, a word about the subject of religious tolerance in Japan. The partial adaptation to western culture since the Restoration of 1868 has not been effective. Actually it was not the Westernization it appeared to be so much as a return to an older feudalism. There is a curious stratification of religions in Japan. Buddhism that came to Japan never succeeded in replacing the ancient native Japanese religion. So among the Japanese there exists not a true syncretism of Buddhism and Shintoism but the two religions, one piled on top of the other. The Japanese see no incongruity about this but keep them both. This is the reason for the lack of purity or orthodoxy in the Japanese religious outlook. They do not feel that they must embrace one to the exclusion of the other.

The Christian teaching is that its God is the One God and a person must forsake all others. There would be no conflict if a Christian were willing to add Christianity to the layers of religions that he already had. One can imagine what a convert to the Christian religion goes through. He must leave his ancestors' religion as well as that of his parents. He has been brought up within a society in which the family is the basis and he has been thoroughly disciplined in the virtues of submission and has been taught that loyalty is the highest virtue. It requires a great amount of determination and decision for a Japanese to turn to Christianity. This no doubt accounts for the small percentage of the total population that have become Christian in Japan. Christian Church workers in Hawaii must take account of this background and not be too shocked when they find their converts have not altogether cut all ties with their former religions.

We have tried to show that there are commendable elements in both cultures as well as dangers. The most serious handicap confronting a Nisei or anyone who is a product of two cultures is a chaotic state of mind. He must somehow resolve conflicting ideas, ideals and aspirations and the first step toward this, is in understanding the background and reasons for such tensions. He must form a new conception of himself, rather taking pride in the critical role which he is called to play. It is especially necessary that he not evade the issues nor try to deceive himself.

The unique role of one who has had the experience of living in two cultures can be that of an interpreter. His horizons ought to be wider because he sees both points of view. Since the origin of thinking always entails some perplexity, confusion, and doubt, the man on the margin of two cultures is likely to do more thinking than the ordinary person and have a keener intelligence. This conflict of cultures may produce the most truly creative minds in terms of both using conflict as they have known it as a theme of artistic expression and scientific accomplishments.

Owari (The End)

SOME PATTERNS OF MATE SELECTION AMONG NAICHI AND OKINAWANS ON OAHU

George K. Yamamoto

Since there are no legal barriers to interracial marriage, selection of mates in Hawaii is largely a matter of personal choice, although the process is influenced by such factors as group or parental conceptions of preferred races and the availability of preferred categories of potential mates. In the period 1940-1949, 29 per cent of the marriages in Hawaii were those that crossed the conventionally designated racial or ethnic lines, and an inspection of the statistics of earlier decades and of the first few years in this decade shows that the rate of interracial marriage has been increasing with time. There was great variation, however, in the rates of outmarriage among the diverse racial groups. During the period, the percentage of outmarriage among the brides ranged from 77 per cent for Hawaiians to 10 per cent for Caucasians; among the grooms the range was from 66 per cent for Hawaiians to 4 per cent for Japanese. While the outmarriage percentage of the Japanese has been increasing over the decades, especially among the brides, it has been consistently low compared with the other groups. The 17 per cent outmarriage rate for Japanese brides for the 1940-1949 period placed them seventh in a list of eight racial categories. The Japanese grooms ranked last, their 4 per cent outmarriage figure being more than 25 per cent lower than the seventh ranked Chinese category.¹

A number of interrelated factors have been commonly regarded as "responsible" for the low proportion of outmarriages among the Japanese, or for the greater tendency for the Japanese to inmarry compared with other groups, to put it in another way. Such influences as large numbers, a balanced sex ratio, and immigrant conceptions of the family system are regarded as having operated to maintain to a considerable degree a sense of common identity and group cohesion so that deviations from group expectations, including the choosing of spouses from outside the group, have been kept relatively infrequent.

It would seem of interest to explore Japanese outmarriage rates further by analysis of data in terms of two familiar sub-categories of Japanese in Hawaii--Okinawan and Naichi. Neither the United States Census Bureau nor the Bureau of Health Statistics of the Territory makes such distinction in their population reports, nor do other agencies in the community generally subdivide the Japanese group in this manner. The Japanese Consulate in Hawaii, however, has maintained records of Japanese citizens according to prefectural origin, one of the prefectures being Okinawa.

Furthermore, within the Japanese group, there seems to be an almost universal awareness of the distinction between the two categories of Japanese. The Okinawans either came from Okinawa or trace their origin to Okinawa while the Naichi either came from Japan proper (Naichi is literally "home territory") or trace their origin to Japan proper. Among the older Naichi there is awareness of differences in prefectural origin in Japan proper, but these different prefectures in Japan proper tend to be regarded as parts of a

homogeneous entity in contrast with Okinawa prefecture. Some physical differences between members of the two categories are frequently noted. Surnames characteristic of each of the two groups also serve as a basis for awareness of difference. Among older Japanese contemporaries, variations in certain cultural practices and in speech habits are additional criteria by which the awareness of distinction is maintained.

The differential subgroup identification among Naichi and Okinawans has a stratification aspect in Hawaii. Overt conflicts among children and covert feelings of antipathy among adults, based primarily on the "attitude of superiority assumed by Naichi and the defensive pride of the Okinawans," have been described in a previous issue of this publication.² A wartime Office of Strategic Services study speaks of segregation and cleavage among the Okinawans and Naichi in Hawaii.³

The foregoing discussion suggests that, from one point of view, the two subgroups among the Japanese in Hawaii may be regarded as two distinct ethnic groups rather than mere economic or prestige subdivisions of the same ethnic group. They may be regarded as of the same order as the ethnic or racial groups into which the population of Hawaii is divided by official agencies. If they are so treated, what patterns of behavior with respect to marriage partner choices would we find among the members of the two subgroups?

The information for this study was obtained from the vital statistics column in the English language section of the *Hawaii Times*, a bilingual daily newspaper, for the period 1941-1950. This column listed periodically throughout the year, all marriages on Oahu involving persons of Japanese ancestry. Since the newspaper did not provide direct information that would enable distinguishing between Naichi and Okinawan, it was necessary to rely on recognition of names in classifying the listed Japanese brides and grooms into the two categories.⁴

Since neither the number of marriages derived from the newspaper nor the classification of the persons as members of either the Naichi or Okinawan category was completely reliable, it was decided that where statistical tests of significance of percentage differences were made, the .001 level would be regarded as evidence of a significant difference.

¹ Andrew W. Lind, *Hawaii's People* (Honolulu: U. H. Press, 1955) p. 104.

² Henry Toyama and Kiyoshi Ikeda, "The Okinawan-Naichi Relationship," *Social Process in Hawaii*, XIV (1950)

³ *Okinawan Studies No. 3* (1944)

⁴ The main guide for classification was Appendix III, "List of Okinawan Names and their Characters," *Okinawan Studies No. 3*.

I. Marriages of Okinawans and Naichi Japanese
With In-groups and Out-groups, 1941-1950

	Total		Per Cent Marriage With		
	Number	Per Cent	Non-Japanese Groups	Other Sub-group *	In-group *
Naichi Brides	8,293	100.0	16.4	4.0	79.6
Grooms	7,417	100.0	4.6	6.4	89.0
Okinawan Brides	2,248	100.0	20.3	21.2	58.5
Grooms	1,712	100.00	3.7	19.5	76.8

*Either Naichi or Okinawan, depending on the category named.

Table I summarizes the information on marriages involving Japanese on Oahu as reported by the Hawaii Times for the period 1941-1950. The total number of brides was greater than the number of grooms in both Naichi and Okinawan categories. The outnumbering of brides over grooms has occurred generally in all ethnic groups that have a balanced sex ratio in the young adult age levels, while the reverse has been true generally in groups such as the Caucasians and Filipinos where men of marriageable age outnumber women. In the matter of choosing mates from non-Japanese groups, Okinawan brides were highest in percentage, Naichi brides ranked second, Naichi grooms third, and Okinawan grooms fourth. Both brides and grooms among the Okinawans were higher in percentage of marriages to Naichis than Naichi brides and grooms were in percentage of marriages to Okinawans.

The percentage of ingroup marriage was lower for both brides and grooms among Okinawans than among Naichis. Lind's data for the Territory for the period 1940-1949 indicate that 71.4 per cent of all marriages were ingroup marriages (28.6 per cent outmarriages).⁵ If that figure may be used to interpret the information obtained from the newspaper column of vital statistics for Oahu for the period 1941-1950, the Okinawan outmarriage rates (brides, 41.5 per cent; grooms, 23.2 per cent) appear to more nearly resemble the rates of some of the non-Japanese groups than the rates for the Japanese as an entity. The difference between Naichi and Okinawans does not appear to be as great, however, when only percentages of marriage to non-Japanese are compared.

Attention may finally be called to the fact that ratio of Naichi brides to Okinawan brides (8,293 to 2,248) is about 3.7 to 1; and the ratio of Naichi grooms to Okinawan grooms is about 4.3 to 1. Usual estimates⁶ of the

⁵ Hawaii's People, p. 104.

⁶ Kiyoshi Ikeda, "A Comparative Study of Mental Illness Differences Among the Okinawan and Naichi Japanese in Hawaii," (Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Hawaii), p. 25. Also, Andrew W. Lind, Hawaii's Japanese (Princeton University Press, 1946), p. 32.

number of Naichis and Okinawans in the total population of the Territory, however, place the ratio at about 6 to 1.

The rest of this paper will be devoted to a number of comparisons between the marriage choices of Okinawans and Naichi and between brides and grooms.

Marriage to Non-Japanese

The difference between the percentages of marriage of Okinawan brides to non-Japanese (20.3) and of Naichi brides to non-Japanese (16.4) was found to be statistically significant at the .001 level. This is equivalent to saying that such a difference of 3.9 per cent could have occurred by sheer chance less than once in 1,000 times if there actually was no difference in the tendency to marry non-Japanese between the brides of the two groups. The result tends to support a hypothesis suggested by Romanzo Adams in the 1930's:

Within each racial group, commonly, there is some sort of distinction of status, of dialect or of religion and these distinctions are of importance as affecting marriage. . . There is some evidence of a degree of social disorganization among (the Okinawans) in Hawaii. They do not enjoy the full benefit of membership in Japanese organizations and their behavior tends to follow the pattern by other groups too small to maintain effective organization. . . it is probable that they marry non-Japanese in higher proportion than do ordinary Japanese of Japan proper.⁷

Even though statistically significant, however, the difference of 3.9 per cent was not as great as might be expected from a consideration of the reputed status difference and of the difference in numerical size of the two groups.

Contrary to expectations, the percentage of Okinawan males who married non-Japanese women was actually lower than that of the Naichi males. This is probably associated with such factors as the ethnic coherence of Okinawan males and the preferences among the women of the non-Japanese groups. The difference between 4.6 per cent (Naichis) and 3.7 per cent (Okinawans) was not significant.

Marriages of Okinawans to Naichis and to Non-Japanese

Of the 2,248 Okinawan brides, 21.2 percent married Naichi grooms. This appears to be a rather high percentage when we consider judgments such as the following:

The general repugnance, even abhorrence on the part of the Naichi toward marriage of one of their number with an Okinawan comes out again and again. . . The marriages

⁷ Romanzo Adams, Interracial Marriage in Hawaii (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1937), p. 170.

between the two groups are very rare. . . At the University of Hawaii. . . as, in general, in the community at large the second generation of Hawaiian-born Japanese are more tolerant than the first generation. . . Intimacies and marriage are still, however, not countenanced.⁸

Owing to status distinctions. . . naturally there is little, if any, intermarriage between (the Okinawans) and the other Japanese.⁹

On the basis of such estimates of the relationship between Naichi and Okinawans in Hawaii, we might have set up the hypothesis that the marriage of Okinawan brides to non-Japanese grooms occurs more frequently than to Naichi grooms. This hypothesis would have been rejected on the basis of the data obtained, since the percentage of marriage to non-Japanese (20.3) was actually smaller than the percentage of marriage to Naichi grooms (21.2), although the difference in favor of Naichi grooms is statistically non-significant.

The percentage of marriage to non-Japanese grooms added to the percentage of marriage to Naichi grooms gives a figure of 41.5 per cent, which represents the outmarriage rate of Okinawan brides for the period under consideration. It is considerably higher than the usual rates for

Japanese outmarriages one derives from the conventional summaries of interracial marriage statistics, and it appears to be similar to the relatively common experience of numerically smaller groups in Hawaii.

Ingroup preference is still implied, of course, to the extent that 58.5 per cent of the Okinawan brides chose Okinawan grooms.¹⁰ The proportion of ingroup marriages among Okinawan brides is expected to decrease further with continued residence of the group in Hawaii, if the group's experience parallels that of other ethnic groups.

As in the case of the brides, the 19.5 per cent among Okinawan grooms who married Naichi women represent a proportion higher than expected if the alleged "cleavage" between the two groups really exerted any great influence on the selection of marriage mates. Furthermore, contrary to common assumptions, the percentage of marriage to Naichi brides is significantly greater than the 3.7 per cent figure representing marriages to non-Japanese women.

While not as great as the outmarriage rate of the brides, Okinawan grooms selected nearly a fourth of their wives from outside the Okinawan group. The 76.8 per cent ingroup marriage figure, while lower than the usual inmarriage figures for the composite Japanese group, is still a rather high rate for a relatively small group.

Okinawan brides had a higher percentage than Okinawan grooms in both types of outmarriage, to Naichis and to non-Japanese. However, only in the case of marriage to non-Japanese (brides, 20.3 per cent; grooms,

⁸ Okinawan Studies No. 3, p. 75-82, *passim*.

⁹ Interracial Marriage in Hawaii, p. 170.

¹⁰ Either Okinawan or Naichi made up 79.7 per cent of the choices of grooms among Okinawan brides.

3.7 per cent) was the difference statistically significant. It has been noted in other parts of the world that females of the lower status group of a class or caste system marry "up" more frequently than do males of the same group, and conversely, the males of the higher status group marry "down" to a greater extent than the females of that higher status group. The hypothesis, when applied to the choices of mates among Okinawans on Oahu, is not fully borne out. Although the 21.2 per cent figure representing marriages to Naichi grooms among Okinawan brides was greater than the 19.5 per cent figure representing marriage to Naichi brides among Okinawan grooms, the difference was not statistically significant.

Marriages of Naichis to Okinawans and to Non-Japanese

The percentage of Naichi brides who selected Okinawan husbands (4.0) was much lower than the percentage of Naichi brides who married non-Japanese husbands (16.4). Status difference considerations, including the hypothesized tendency for women not to marry "down," would seem to help explain the infrequent selection of Okinawans for husbands and the relatively great difference between choosing Okinawan husbands and non-Japanese husbands. It is necessary to add, however, that in evaluating the difference of 11.6 per cent, it would be important to take account of the difference in numerical "availability" of potential husbands for Naichi brides as between the Okinawan category and the non-Japanese category. The latter far outnumbers the category of Okinawan men.

Marriages of Naichi grooms with Okinawan women constituted 6.4 per cent of the total number, whereas marriages with non-Japanese made up 4.6 per cent of their total. While both percentages are quite low, if numerical availability of potential brides from among the various ethnic groups could be taken into account, the figures would suggest a decided preference among Naichi grooms for Okinawan brides as against brides from all the non-Japanese groups combined.

The percentage of inmarriage among Naichi grooms (89.0 per cent) is very high, relatively speaking, as is the percentage of inmarriage among Naichi brides (79.6 per cent). For the period under consideration, we may say that the tendency to inmarry was definitely greater among Naichi than among Okinawans. With respect to marriage within the total Japanese group, however, the earlier discussions indicated that grooms of both sub-groups tended to inmarry more than their bride counterparts, that Naichi brides tended to inmarry more than Okinawan brides, and that Okinawan grooms tended to inmarry although non-significantly, more than Naichi grooms.

The proportion of Naichi brides who married non-Japanese (16.4 per cent) was three times as great as the proportion of Naichi grooms who married non-Japanese (4.6 per cent). Even if allowance were to be made for the greater availability of potential non-Japanese mates for the brides than for the grooms, it appears that the difference would still be significant. "Marrying up" on the part of Naichi brides suggests itself as a possibly relevant factor.

In the matter of marriage to Okinawan spouses, however, the Naichi grooms' percentage was greater than the brides' percentage. While both percentages (6.4 and 4.0) are relatively low, the difference was found to be statistically significant. The idea that status differences in a "closed system" of two groups should be manifested to a greater degree among

the males of the "higher" group marrying into the "lower" group appears to be upheld in this instance.

Okinawans and Naichi Inclinations Toward Each Other

The percentages of Okinawans, both brides and grooms, who married Naichi were greater than the percentages of their Naichi counterparts who selected Okinawan spouses. For the brides the percentages were 21.2 for Okinawans and 4.0 for Naichis. For the grooms, the percentages were 19.5 and 6.4. Do these differences between Okinawans and Naichi point to a greater degree of tolerance or of preference, for status reasons, for Naichi spouses on the part of Okinawans than the tolerance of Naichi for Okinawan spouses?

The matter of difference in numbers in the two groups seems to be of direct relevance in interpreting these differences in percentages. It was earlier mentioned that for the brides, the ratio was about 3.7 Naichis to one Okinawan. For the grooms the ratio was about 4.3 Naichis to one Okinawan. If it is reasonable to utilize these ratios in this instance, it would mean that the differences in percentages of inter-subgroup marriages are not as great as they appear to be. If the two groups were equal in reluctance or in preference or in indifference about choosing mates from the other sub-group, the observed differences in percentage would seem to be quite close to the expected differences. Assuming the sex ratio to be approximately equal in both groups, Okinawan women would have about 3.7 times as much opportunity to marry Naichi men as Naichi women would have to marry Okinawan men; and Okinawan men would have about 4.3 times as much opportunity to marry Naichi women as Naichi men would have to marry Okinawan women. The observed percentage differences were in the ratio of about 5 to 1 for the brides and about 3 to 1 for the grooms. This would suggest that there is no great difference between the two groups with respect to degree of inclination or disinclination about choosing mates from the other group.

Summary and conclusions

There is little in the way of consistent differences in the rate of marriage to non-Japanese between Okinawans and Naichi. The outmarriage rate of Okinawan brides' to non-Japanese is significantly greater than the corresponding rate of Naichi brides, but the amount of difference (approximately 4 per cent) is not as great as considerations of numerical size, assumed social disorganization, and status difference might lead one to expect. Among the grooms, there is no significant difference in the rate of marriage to non-Japanese between Okinawans and Naichis. In fact, the outmarriage rate of Naichi grooms is slightly greater than that of Okinawan grooms.

As between selecting mates from either the non-Japanese category or the other Japanese subgroup, there does not appear to be any marked difference between Naichis and Okinawans when the difference in size of the two subgroups, and hence the difference in the "pool" of potential mates from the other subgroup, is taken into account. Aside from preference for mates from their own subgroup over all others, no difference in antipathy or preference between Naichis and Okinawans can reasonably be inferred from the data.

Some important differences in marriage rates seem to exist between the two sexes within each of the two groups. In both the Naichi and Okinawan groups, the women appear to marry non-Japanese more readily than the males, the difference not being wholly attributable to the difference in the number of potential mates available in the non-Japanese population. In the matter of marrying into the other subgroup, however, there is little difference between the sexes within the Okinawan group, and the difference in the Naichi group between brides and grooms, while statistically significant, is less than 3 per cent.

Even when considered as a separate ethnic group, Okinawans choose the majority of their mates from within their own group. When compared with the Naichi group, however, Okinawans choose spouses from outside the subgroup at a much higher rate. Their rate, especially that of the brides, is beginning to approach the rates of other ethnic groups in the community of comparable size. The relatively high rate of marrying out of the Okinawan group, however, is due largely to the rate of marriage to Naichi. This is especially true of the grooms, but even among the brides, at least half of the marriages out of the Okinawan group have been with Naichi.

Identification of Okinawans with their ethnic group as a distinct category appears to exist. It is the same with Naichi. The Okinawan group, however, seems to show greater signs of probable decrease in ethnic cohesion. This does not necessarily mean that the group is likely to "disappear" soon as a self-conscious entity by being merged with the wider community of mixed bloods, as appears to be the trend among some other small ethnic groups in the islands. Rather, the Okinawans, insofar as they lose their separate ethnic identity, are more likely to be merged with the Naichi. This tendency is, of course, from one point of view, an accomplished fact. All public institutions regard the Japanese as an ethnic entity, whether Okinawan or Naichi. And most Okinawans and Naichi, if not all, already have a dual ethnic identity, Japanese relative to other ethnic groups and Naichi or Okinawan relative to each other. The growing number of persons of mixed Okinawan and Naichi ancestry is indicative, at the level of biological fusion, of the reduction of cultural differences between the two groups and of attitudes and actions based on consciousness of difference in identity.

THE FILIPINO WEDDING: A COMPARISON OF THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

Caridad Martin

Many years ago, arranged marriages were very common in many parts of the world. In Japan, for example, the girl's or boy's parents choose the bride-to-be or groom-to-be for their children. In royal or wealthy families of England and India, to mention only a few, marriages are planned long before their children are aware of such arrangements. This is similarly a wide-spread practice, not only for rich, but for poor families in the Philippine Islands.

The following discussion is written primarily from the viewpoint of the Ilocanos, with major attention upon the marriage practices as they have existed in the homeland. As a consequence, the account is stated chiefly in the past tense, as having existed in the past in the Philippines, prior to the arrival of the immigrants. It is quite probable that many of these customs still prevail in the homeland. They are presented here, however, as the standard by which the immigrant generation tend to judge present practices in the Islands. Incidental attention is given to the changes which have occurred among the immigrants and their children in Hawaii.¹

When the boy was between the ages of 18 and 20 years, his parents would be very much interested in getting him married. In most cases, the parents already had a bride picked out for him. The girl was sometimes from the same county, a good family friend, or a far-away relative which we sometimes call a "Calabash cousin" in Hawaii. The girl was frequently unaware of the marriage arrangements being made for her because in most instances, she would meet the boy for the first time at the altar. Contrary to this, the boy was given much more choice because the parents might not have had anyone in mind, with the result that the boy could select his own bride.

The term *mangasasawa* was used when the boy's parents went for an informal talk at the girl's house for wedding arrangements. The girl was rarely present during this meeting. When the family was poor, the parents of the girl were eager to have their daughter marry. The girl's parents would seldom refuse an offer for their daughter's hand, but in many instances, the boy's parents was required to "pay" for his bride. This is still practiced today by some, especially if the girl is the youngest member of the family. There might be objections from the relatives and friends of each party, but sole judgment was left up to the parents. When settlement was made, the boy's parents had to see that the bride-to-be was furnished with the appropriate wedding clothes. The boy's side (i.e. family friends and relatives called *partido*) also furnished all the food. In Hawaii, Filipinos still believe in this custom.

The girl's wedding gown was called *tierna* which is made of cotton and abacca of any color. The girl was also given a *sagaisai* (comb), *aritos* (earrings), and a golden wedding ring with unusual designs. Today Filipinos have adopted the practice of having the girl provide her own wedding gown and of wearing a diamond ring or golden wedding bands for both the bride and groom. Whereas the girl in earlier times wore wooden slippers with pearl trimmings for her wedding, today every American girl wears heels or flats, depending on her choice. The wooden slippers, called *kotso*, were sometimes worn in the Philippines for other occasions.

The boy supplied his own wedding shirt called *senamai*, which is similar to the organdy. He did not dress as elaborately as the girl, nor did he wear a coat and tie. His pants were also of a bright color which Filipinos fancy.

There was a best man and a maid-of-honor--*Ama ken Ina ti Casar*. Literally, they were the father and mother in marriage and usually they were from the same county and very close relatives of both parties. Selections were based on prestige and status so that in times of hardship after marriage, the couple might rely on them for assistance. Today there are added flower girls, a ring bearer, and bridesmaids and ushers which did not exist in earlier days.

A Filipino *daya* (party) was formerly a four-day affair. There was a pre-wedding party for two nights and a day, and another one right after the wedding ceremony in a nearby church; following the wedding day, another party was held at the girl's home. This party was something like a "farewell" for the girl because she was leaving her home for a new one with her husband. If a wedding was to take place on Sunday, the actual party started on Friday night. Wine, made in their homes, was served along with roast pig, fish, and chicken as main dishes. There were also many vegetables like *tarong* and *paria* (egg plant and bitter melon, a favorite of many Filipinos) and *carabasa* (pumpkin). The party was not limited to invited guests. A number of the guests' friends "invited themselves." The party continued all day and night on Saturday at the boy's residence. On Sunday morning, after the wedding ceremony was over, continued celebration resumed at the boy's home. On Monday, the "farewell" party was at the girl's place.

After the wedding ceremony at the church, the bride and groom along with others, marched from the church to the boy's home where the party took place. Usually the rejoicing was accompanied with music by a three string orchestra who played Filipino love songs to signify happiness for the newlyweds. Today, there are loud horn sounds as the couple passes in a car after the wedding ceremony.

When the couple arrived at the boy's home, each of them was given a lighted candle which was held in front of them as they entered into the house. They then kneeled and the candles were placed in front of an altar. Prayers led by an older female member of the boy or girl's family followed. This is a very important tradition that is still carried out today. Rice throwing was considered less important in those days. The Filipinos believe that such a ceremony would give the couple the blessings and happiness which were needed. Sometimes misfortunes would fall on the relatives of the bride and/or the groom when this ceremony was not undertaken. When I was seven years old I was a flower girl for one of our family friends, and I remember that when we were just about to start the party, the groom's father fainted. Much to our astonishment, the

¹ For supplementary information, see also Roman Cariaga, "Some Filipino Traits Transplanted," *Social Process in Hawaii*, II (May, 1936), 20-23. Anastacio Luis and Hermans Sensano, "Some Aspects of the Filipino Family," *Social Process in Hawaii*, III (1937), 64-69.

bride's mother also weakened and had to be carried to the bedroom to lie down. One of the older women suddenly shouted, "go and get the candles" and then prepared for the candle ceremony. When this was done, both the groom's father and the bride's mother were well again. They thought a marriage was incomplete without such a ceremony to make the "bad spirits" go away.

After this prayer, the daya (party) began. The party was held under a large canvass cover called tulda. This was somewhat like a circus tent. Smartly woven coconut leaves were used to decorate the encircling sides. It was divided into a dancing and eating section. A special table was set up for the bride and the groom, their parents, the maid of honor, and some very close family friends. The table was actually divided into the right and the left sides: one for the girl's family and friends (babayan) and the other for the boy's family and friends (lalakyan). All the relatives would seat themselves in the proper sides. After everyone had eaten, liquor was served by the girl and the boy to their respective sides. Those who desired to give them money did so. The ones on the boy's side would shout "lalakyan," and the people on the girl's side, "babayan." It was not regarded as a sale of liquor but it was a custom some Filipinos still practice even today. After the guests at this special table had been served, the other guests at the other tables were also served. These guests would "buy" liquor from whomever they wished. There were no significance as to who collects the most money. However, if the boy collected money, it was usually because he had more relatives at the wedding party and therefore was more prosperous. Dancing followed right after the big meal. The orchestra was usually made up of players of string-instruments. The couple would initiate the wedding dance, the Pandango, which would last about an hour or so. This is a roundabout dance in which coins are thrown, and shouts as if to say "good luck" come from all sides. Money was the most popular gift to the newlyweds. If the guest was poor, he gave a bag of rice or something else that he had for the party.

Today the couple are showered with various kind of presents and money and the Pandango is not very popular with the second and third generation Filipinos. Sometimes a sum of five hundred dollars can be expected from the dance. A rather extraordinary way of giving money to the bride and groom originating among the Tagalogs but practiced now to some extent also by the Visayans, and Ilocanos, consists in placing the money between the dancing girl's lips and the boy taking it with his lips and dropping it on the floor. All those who are watching are yelling and laughing because the couple look rather awkward trying to pass the money to each other. The "dime," because it is small, is a favorite for such a practice. Most people, however, regard it as unsanitary and it is gradually dying out.

In the Philippines there used to be many other Filipino dances which were performed while the bride and groom were being congratulated. The older people now had their chance of showing their talents by singing or dancing. Usually the songs portrayed love stories and situations in time of courtship.

While rejoicing was going on, the candles were watched by an older member (or members) of the girl or boy's family. It was believed that the candle that "died" faster signified which one of the couple would die earlier. Also, by observing "how the candles burned" one could tell more or less how the marriage would turn out. If the flame of both candles was straight, their marriage would be a happy and strong one.

If both parents were well-to-do, they would provide a house for the couple. However, if they were poor, the couple would live with the boy's parents. Today, it depends on the couple. Some prefer to stay with the girl's parents, others, with the boy's parents and there are some who wish to live apart from either parents.

By way of conclusion, one may say that even though arranged marriages are not very common today, the parents still believe that their child should accept the parents' choice of a marriage partner. The father may oppose his daughter's going steady with a boy of a different nationality and may even threaten the boy. I have found, however, that when this happens and the boy and girl do get married without the consent of either parents, if the marriage turns out well, cordial relationships with the parents are re-established and, "everyone lives happily ever after."

Finally parents tend to be more understanding and tolerant now, perhaps because education is more widespread and mixed marriages are more common. Though weddings still tend to be rather elaborate and formal, some believe in small private weddings today. Few of the traditional customs still persist among the "Americanized Filipinos."

THE TRANSITION FROM JAPANESE HOSPITAL TO KUAKINI HOSPITAL

Nancy M. Horikawa

Kuakini Hospital presents an interesting aspect of the changing social scene in Hawaii. To the casual observer, it is the former Japanese Hospital, still serving and existing for one ethnic group alone. A distinctly ethnic or "racial" atmosphere still prevails and a newcomer to the institution frequently senses it, and, if he is not Japanese, may react with antagonism and even disgust. In spite of the dominant Japanese influence, Kuakini Hospital is nevertheless yielding slowly and inexorably to the forces of the wider American society. In due time, we may even see her as one of the outstanding products of inter-racial experiment in Hawaii.

The very names--Japanese Hospital and Kuakini Hospital--symbolize the contrasting cultural orientations of this one institution during the two major periods of its history. During the first period the hospital was in fact as well as in name a reflection of the Japanese community in Hawaii, which was still strongly attached to its old-country traditions and values. The later period, during which the institution has been known as the Kuakini Hospital, has been one of cultural transformation--of confusion and tensions, no doubt, inevitable in a transition, yet undeniably developing into an institution capable of serving Hawaii's cosmopolitan society.

The Period of the Japanese Hospital

In the year 1900, following the bubonic plague and the terrifying "Chinatown fire," many Japanese were left homeless and destitute. The Japanese Benevolent Society provided these unfortunate people with food, clothing, and medical care. This incident served as the impetus for the establishment of a hospital known as the Japanese Charity Hospital. Its primary purpose was to serve the Japanese people and it remained unwaveringly Japanese for some forty odd years.

To those unfamiliar with the Oriental concept of nursing and hospitalization, this institution serves as a baffling contrast indeed. As the hospital grew in size, it became a little community of its own. As in other urbanized communities where ghetto-like settlements exist, this closely knit institution changed very slowly to American ways and the prolonged retention of the Japan-patterned hospital care, was undoubtedly a consequence.

The reminiscences of the nurses indicate that both oral and written communications were mainly in Japanese until about 1940. The charts of the patients were recorded in Japanese. Since the nursing care was regulated by Japanese standards, nurses were either trained in Japan or trained at the Japanese Hospital in the traditional Japanese manner. Entrance requirement to the Japanese Hospital School of Nursing stressed a Japanese High School education, but not necessarily the knowledge of English. This conformity to the standards of Japan as against Western conceptions regarding the training and licensing of nurses, reflects the conditions of a non-unified, ethnically plural society. Most aspects of their lives were regulated by the traditions of the mother country and this, of course, further nurtured racial cohesiveness.

A dominant note of this period was authoritarian orderliness. One never questioned the superiors. This situation prevented the acceptance of American standards of nursing, but operating within this isolated institution, nurses managed to attain dignity and status within their own ethnic community. The maintenance of Japanese standards made it possible to enlarge the plant and to operate it successfully with very little outside interference and help.

A sense of financial well-being seemed to exist at this time. It was, for instance, possible to operate the kitchen at a substantial profit. This was possible because under the old world regime nurses washed their own dishes after each meal. This quaint custom reflects in many ways the general operation of the old Japanese Hospital. In the dining room each employee had his own little *kago* (basket) containing an *ochawan* (rice bowl) and a pair of *hashi* (chopsticks). As the employees entered the dining room, they went to their baskets for their bowls and chopsticks and when they were finished, each individual carried his dishes back to the sink, rinsed his bowl and chopsticks and placed them back in his respective basket to drain. This procedure may strike us as curious but seemed highly satisfactory to the in-group. It simplified the work for the kitchen crew and kept the expenses at a minimum.

In nursing, we see the same Oriental system at work, found according to the observation of a Red Cross Nursing Consultant in Japan shortly after the end of World War II to be typical in Japanese hospitals. In the effort of the Americans to reorganize the nursing of post-war Japan, they were confronted with the same traditional practices. The gist was that nursing was more doctor-centered than patient-centered. This concept involves the principle that nurses were primarily there to assist the doctors and to perform the more difficult procedures only, consequently nursing care involving personal needs of the patients was delegated to family members. This was described by the American observers in Japan as "nursing the doctor rather than the patient." (The practice may have reflected early German practice, which had greatly influenced the development of medicine in Japan. It of course also emphasized the high status of the doctor.) A similar practice existed at the Japanese Hospital. Family members were provided cots in patients' rooms and remained for twenty-four hours to provide for the needs of the sick. In Japan, even cooking in the rooms was permitted, but this was not done here. Families were, however, permitted to manage the patients' diet rather freely. This type of nursing resulted in some untidiness, especially in the rooms. A nurse trained under this principle acquired the conception that certain duties are to be avoided as too menial. Some nurses recalling the early situation say, "Why, we never carried bedpans." Occasionally the idea may still crop up, "Let the family do it."

A common Oriental practice of deferring to superiors seems to have prevailed. Gift presentation at the end of the year to any superior was a commonly accepted practice. It was supposed to signify your gratitude for considerations received. Most persons in the hierarchy rank accepted this privilege as natural. Just as authority from above was accepted without questions, so it was natural to receive gifts from below. These material gifts, involved the Japanese conception of obligation to elders and superiors, and were in no sense "bribes." In fact, some will say that this practice was necessary to protect the non-eloquent from the flatterers who knew their way around.

There are many other things like communal baths, teahouse parties for doctors and nurses, accepting your pay with a reverent bow, that paint a picturesque scene of yesteryear's Japan in Hawaii.

Perhaps the most significant occurrence towards the end of this chapter of the old Japanese Hospital was the last expansion of the hospital in 1939. This indicated the feeling of political allegiance to Japan at that time. The Japanese Benevolent Society issued a publication in Japanese commemorating this occasion with respectful references to the Emperor and his representative in Hawaii, the Consul General. A large dome stands above this building to this day and once symbolized the tie with the Japanese nation. The old-timers say that this dome was built to honor the Japanese Imperial family which contributed 10,000 yen to spearhead the building campaign which made this expansion possible. It is significant that at this relatively late date, they were still turning to the Japanese government rather than to the American government for help. (It must, of course, be remembered that at that time Japanese immigrants remained subjects of the Emperor, because American law did not allow them to be naturalized.)

Kuakini Hospital, a Period of Transformation

The impact of the Second World War markedly altered the institutional picture. Records reveal that the hospital changed its name to the Kuakini Hospital in 1942. Prior to this, Nisei doctors trained in the United States had already begun to ask for English speaking nurses but their influence had been relatively slight in contrast to the over-powering events in 1941.

The Second World War resulted in half the hospital being taken over by the United States Army as a medical unit. The initial occupation of the hospital by the United States Army had something akin to the martial occupation of enemy soil. Gradually, however, this military control was relaxed and army and civilians came to share the same plant as allies. The amount of understanding and tolerance possessed by the American military and civic leaders at that time is indeed remarkable. A complete revamping of the existing organization was expected but the urgency of the period necessitated the continued use of much of existing personnel with a minimum of change. Alien administrative officers were replaced by American citizens of Japanese ancestry but an earnest effort was made to help these people "save face." A great deal of social disorganization was possibly averted by this act of humane farsightedness.

A rapid change took place after this to Americanize medical and nursing practices. American trained dietitians found it possible to make many changes.

The end of the war and a return to normal conditions naturally found some of the old sentiments cropping out anew particularly among older personnel accustomed to the traditional order. There was some hope that the hospital could again become "strictly for Japanese only." But on the whole the new order is accepted, with declining emphasis on race. Traditions and cultures change slowly and the Japanese imprint at Kuakini cannot be erased overnight. It is not uncommon for a stranger entering Kuakini to feel this strong Japanese atmosphere even to this day; yet the hospital is relentlessly moving towards a new destiny.

In contrast to the 1939 building fund campaign to which the Japanese Imperial family contributed the largest sum, we find that in 1952 the Hospital received its largest grant from the U.S. government. Indeed, the imperial gift of 1939 is a very small sum as compared to the Federal grant in 1952 running into six figures. Similarly the recognition accorded by the University of Hawaii to the Hospital as a clinical field for the training of nursing students also helps to re-enforce the modern trend. Finally, the strict enforcement of the laws of the Territory, including sanitary and building

codes and the Nurses Practices Act, compels a close conformity to Western practices in general.

New Faces

The new generation of employees, nurtured largely in an American atmosphere, show evidences of spontaneity and initiative which could not have prevailed before the war. They lack some of the feelings of inferiority which an earlier generation showed. They say "no" more naturally and still not with defiance, and they say "yes" and obviously mean it. In other words, they are poised and self-possessed and they feel at home with people of all races. I am sure this younger generation will not be content to work only for the security of one race. They will not resent the presence of outsiders.

ONE NAVY WIFE IN HAWAII

Evie K. Booth

I can see now that before coming to Hawaii I was one of the many Mainlanders who have extremely silly ideas of what Hawaii is like. When, to our delight, we found out that my husband had been assigned to a ship based at Pearl Harbor there immediately arose mental pictures of "Us, sun bathing at Waikiki," "Us, strolling around the Royal Hawaiian," or "Us, watching the natives fishing." I take credit for one thing however, I didn't believe the "natives" still lived in grass shacks. Rather I imagined them in simple wooden bungalows nestled in shady groves close by the sea.

For some reason I also thought these "natives" would be so friendly that I made myself a promise not to spend all my time with the other Navy people and determined to get about and mix with the local people as much as I could. These local people were assumed to consist mostly of Hawaiians, some "white" merchants, a very few Charlie Chan-type Chinese, and a sizeable number of beachcombers.

At last the great day came and I stepped out of a Navy Mars at Keehi Lagoon to behold what was to me a breathtaking sight. I had never seen clouds so low over mountains so green. I could almost taste my good fortune at coming to such a lovely place. In the hustle of collecting baggage I still hadn't looked much below the mountains and so as we started the drive into the city my misconceptions lingered.

Because there was a waiting list for Navy Housing my husband, who had preceded me here by a month, had searched frantically during the few days he had been ashore until the day before I arrived when he found a small four-room apartment near Punchbowl, on the ewa side. Kitchen, two bedrooms, living room, and bath, were furnished for \$100 a month. Of course we thought it a fantastic price to pay (my husband is an enlisted man), but we would have paid even more just to have our little family together again.

As we drove toward what was to be our home for the next three months we were so busy catching up on each other again that I can only recall a fleeting impression of crowdedness and a swift reorientation to the fact that most of Hawaii seemed to live away from the sea. I had expected our \$100 apartment to be very comfortable, to say the least, and so was genuinely dismayed to see the skimpy termite-ridden furnishings, the stained mattresses, and ancient bath. A rather wild-looking woman with a European accent awaited us - the landlady, my husband said. Our two little girls were then ages two and four and I was expecting another child, and when this woman saw the children she almost shrieked, saying that she didn't know the children were so small and since they were and everyone knew "you people" let children do anything they want, we would have to pay another \$50 deposit. My husband had already paid \$50 even though this made a dangerous dent in our financial reserve. She mumbled something like, "I knew I should have rented to Japanese - they're clean and don't scratch the floor up with shoes."

By this time I was practically in a state of shock myself and I just couldn't make sense out of what she was saying, shoes and floors, and what was that about being clean? Did she think we were dirty? And Japanese - what did Japanese have to do with anything here?

I soon found out. We had to hurry to buy some sheets and things before the stores closed and so we rushed downtown. It was on the bus that I had my first real look at the people of Hawaii.

"Good Heavens," I wondered, "Where are the Hawaiians? Ye gods, could there have been a mistake - they've landed me in China, or is it Japan? What on earth are all these Orientals doing here?" And downtown it was more of the same. Orientals everywhere, some sailors, soldiers, and an odd assortment of people whose racial connections I couldn't identify.

And the city! What was this busy bustling crowded city doing on Hawaii? What are those peculiar things those women are wearing? By the end of my first day in Hawaii I went to bed feeling terribly confused, bewildered, and a little betrayed. I knew that I was going to have to discover the real Hawaii in much the same way Captain Cook had discovered it - starting from zero.

The next day, however, I clung to the one concept of Hawaii I felt could not have been a false one, and that was concerning the friendliness of the people (no longer "natives"). Surely the reputation Hawaii had achieved on the Mainland for this quality must have had a basis in fact. By the end of my second day in Hawaii this notion had proved to be, if anything, more silly than the rest. Already that morning my husband had to leave on an extended cruise and the children and I were to spend our first weeks here alone. When I went to hang out my wash I met another woman hanging hers very close by. When she glanced in my direction I said, "Good morning, we just moved in." Now I'm not the clinging-vine sort and I don't cozy up to just anyone I meet but I find the simple courtesies pleasant and not in the least complicating; so I was both surprised and embarrassed when this lady instantly shifted her eyes from mine, turned and without a word went into her house.

During the entire time I lived there we never exchanged a word and in fact she demonstrated an active dislike in such instances as when my children would call hers to come and play and I would hear her tell hers, "You stay here." I met with similar if not as extreme reactions from the rest of my neighbors. Some would nod or smile briefly if I greeted them, and would let our children play together, but they were definitely wary and reserved.

Because my baby was due soon I was fairly confined to the house, and since the neighborhood was a crowded one, house on house, I sometimes felt our apartment was an island of its own. There were no Haoles closer than two streets away as far as I could tell; and the first time I became conscious that I was looking for another Haole face I felt a sort of sadness that it had come to that.

On the weekends I began to watch the papers for interesting things to do. There was the Hula Festival at Kapiolani Park, a museum on Kalihi Street - that sort of thing. Relying solely on a city map and the bus drivers I groped my way with the children to these places. And of course there were the seemingly endless series of journeys to Tripler Hospital for my check-ups. These were a horror because there was no one to leave the children with, and since children were not allowed into the maternity waiting room they sometimes had to sit as long as two hours by themselves in the outer room. I wonder now at my stupidity in not asking the Navy Relief or someone else for help in this problem. Frequently I saw or sat near other women who were surely service wives too, but I couldn't

bring myself to strike up an acquaintance. In view of my condition and my husband's absence I thought it would seem as if I were trying to gain sympathy or impose myself on them. Or perhaps it was stubborn pride.

It was during these weekend excursions that my deepening disappointment in Hawaii and in my place in it began to ease off. I was at the rather obvious stage in my pregnancy and since my younger child still had to be lifted in and out of buses there always seemed to be someone who wanted to help, someone with a friendly word or two and a smile. I know now that it was these weekend trips that kept my viewpoint from becoming completely distorted.

However, when my husband finally returned and we found out we were eligible for quonset housing at Pearl Harbor, it was with relief that I moved from town to be back with what I had then come to think of as "my own kind." I might add that we lost most of the deposit on the place in town in payment for damages that were there when we moved in.

At the time it seemed wonderful once again to have neighbors who smiled easily and who would drop in to talk and talk and talk. My baby was born almost immediately after the move and the next months were taken up in the family routine again. My husband was transferred to a shore station and life settled into a round of going to the beach, shopping, or attending whatever local event interested us. Always in the company of other Navy people, or just the family.

Having discussed my town experience with other Navy wives I came to realize that it had simply been bad fortune that we had found our apartment where we did. Had I lived perhaps only five streets or so in another direction things might have been very different for me. Apparently the neighborhood a service family moves into makes all the difference. In many areas they found each other quickly, for company, or they lived in a court that catered to service people, or the local people in the area were more relaxed in their attitudes toward service people and some became fine friends, but these were the exception.

By the time two years had passed I had lapsed into a sort of rut about my life and place in Hawaii and I believe it was fairly typical of the Navy women around me, too. That is, from the "enlisted" point of view - since I have no acquaintance with any officer-wives. That thought went something like this: Hawaii is an interesting experience; but Navy people are considered a sort of necessary evil; we go our way and the local people go theirs and that's that; the climate is wonderful, you'll miss it when you leave. I believe it would be reasonable to say that about 75 per cent of the Navy families are more than willing to leave when their tour is up, and the rest are reluctant mainly because the climate and relaxed attitude toward clothing make it economical to clothe children as well as themselves, and because it always costs so much to move (over what the Navy allows). Then too, many of us have learned by experience that the next place may be so much worse.

What were my thoughts on the "race factor" by then? Well, I had finally located the Hawaiians around and found there weren't many. The closest I ever came to any was when I needed to buy a lei and then they acted just like any salespeople anywhere. I had become somewhat acquainted with what made the economy of the islands tick and where the various racial groups were supposed to fit into this functioning. At least it seemed to me that one was supposed to find this group on the plantations and that group running the big businesses, and so forth. I suppose this was more of an impression than actual information.

I had become aware of the size of the Oriental population, especially the Japanese. At first I couldn't tell Japanese from Chinese, but now in many cases I can, and of course the names have come to make a difference. My relations with the local people, of whatever background, were really no relations at all. I went into stores to buy things and it was no different from buying things from any people anywhere else. This was the only contact I had with local people and because this is typical many Navy people get a feeling that they're only wanted here because of the money they spend. Although it is not uncommon to hear Navy people say they don't want or need friends among the "locals" I often think this is a type of "sour-grapes" attitude, because those who do find "outside" friends are invariably pleased and show-offish about it, and I suspect are envied by those who have had no such luck.

Through various sources--I'm not even sure which--I had the impression that there was not much love lost between the different nationalities in the islands. The Chinese were supposed to dislike the Japanese and vice versa, and neither of them were supposed to like the Koreans, and all of them disliked most Haoles. And at the same time, it seemed, from reading the newspapers, that someone was always noticing how well everyone in Hawaii mixed together, without even noticing the mutual dislikes.

Personally, I was appalled at the foreign language broadcasts on the major radio stations. On the Mainland one finds them on the lesser stations. I didn't think it was a smart idea to feature such foreign language programs so prominently because this was America and these things should rate only a small back seat here. I attributed the bad English I heard to just such "goings on," because I find myself stuttering over words at times, and blame it on bilingual surroundings in my childhood.

One thing that puzzled me from the beginning was to hear Portuguese people distinguished from Haole people. To me Portuguese are Haoles. Another strange thing, and a little funny, too, was to notice in the society sections of the papers that the descendants of the early missionaries seemed to take a great pride in this descent. It seemed as if in Hawaii to be the Haole descendant of a missionary counts as much toward blue-bloodedness as being connected with the Mayflower does in Boston. And this is peculiar to me, because where I was raised, missionaries, even the dead ones, were rather looked down on in class status.

By the beginning of my third year in Hawaii I began to feel a restlessness to get out of the narrow life we were living. We couldn't look forward to the diversion of a long drive to visit relatives or to have them visit us. We'd covered Oahu pretty thoroughly, that is, as much as non-residents can ever cover a place, and we had spent a week on the island of Hawaii. Now we had come to a kind of dead-end. At about the time most Navy families who had stayed as long as we had were leaving, we were beginning another three year term of shore duty. The constant companionship of only other Navy wives was becoming wearing, and all the things we said and did seemed to have been said and done over and over before. I like politics, local and national, and had trouble finding women who were interested in discussing these things. I had not found anyone who could enjoy going to the symphony with me, and although certainly none of this was in any sense tragic, still, I missed not knowing people who shared my interests or who could share a stimulating interest of theirs with me. Undoubtedly there are many in Navy Housing who have these interests, but I just didn't meet them. Around me it was all children, clothes, husbands, and the Navy. An occasional violent headline or juicy neighborhood gossip provided the only novelty. I began to feel a sense

turn should be contributing more to it.

Then, too, I became uneasy at some of the conversations I was often a part of. I found myself indulging in petty gossip and constant complaining. I didn't seem to have half the vitality I had when I had arrived in Hawaii. All this didn't reach my consciousness all at once of course. It was a gradual awareness that I didn't like the "me" I was becoming.

One day I saw a picture in the newspaper of a woman with four children who was graduating from the University Teacher's College. I had left school soon after the eighth grade because of emotional difficulties after my parents' divorce and I had always regretted my lack of a formal education even though I had learned a lot through reading. The idea began to grow and grow that I wanted to go to high school and to college, and perhaps become a teacher myself. When my husband retired from the Navy it would be ideal for me to work so that he could get started in another interest, and if I taught I could still spend summers with the children. I put my idea to my husband, who knew how dissatisfied I had become, and he agreed that I should try. Naturally there were all sorts of obstacles to be worked out but I thought I could take care of them as they arose. High school had to be finished first and so I went to one of the Adult Education centers to register and attend night sessions. The counselor there said I might not have to go through all the courses if I could demonstrate that I already knew something about them, and he gave me the California Achievement Test to find out which courses I needed to enroll in. When I had finished he said he wanted to give me one other exam; and now I enjoy telling people I went to high school in four hours because after the second exam, which turned out to be a General Educational Development test, I was told I needn't bother about high school. They would give me a diploma immediately, and I could go right over to the University for the entrance exam. I was delighted and very proud of my diploma, but had a suspicion that high school standards must have been lowered since "my day."

I took the University exam right away and was off on my new career. In my two years at the University I have received far more in the way of an education than my record of courses might indicate. My two older children were by then in school, but I had to make arrangements for the youngest, then a little past two years. I found a wonderful nursery school for him in town, where I could drop him off on my way, and at various times he has been the only Haole child in his group of thirty or more children. His teachers were my first real contact with local women and I liked them very much. They knew how to handle my boy wisely and with every day that passed he became more affectionate toward them. . . . Through going to the University I have met many people outside of the University and these meetings have invariably been pleasant ones.

On the campus, at first I felt a little strange and out of place. First day in class it was obvious that no one would sit in the seat on either side of me until there was no choice left. But then these were freshman classes and I believed the age factor made a difference. It never occurred to me at the time that my being a Haole had anything to do with it, although since then this has been suggested to me by other Haoles. In any case, I didn't let any of the stand-offishness get me down and didn't push things in my class relationships. I sometimes found myself pushing the instructors though, and I suppose I fulfill every qualification of "Haole big mouth." But I felt I couldn't always sit quietly while an instructor would innocently or otherwise state what was purely opinion on his part as if it were fact.

became very pleasant. It was a wonderful change from the Navy life. I felt healthier and happier. Housework and schoolwork adjusted nicely and I resigned myself to doing both adequately rather than trying to be perfect at one at the expense of the other.

It seemed to me that when my freshman classmates realized that I not only didn't bite but also was perfectly content to take them or leave them on their own terms I made friends. I often wished they would speak up more in class to make things more interesting but the majority seemed to prefer just listening, and perhaps this is wise. Yet I sensed that behind those frequently blank faces in class there were decided opinions on this or that and I would have enjoyed hearing them.

When I first arrived in Hawaii, interracial marriage seemed just as wrong to me as it does to most Mainlanders; however, after my association with the girls of other races on campus I now wonder what all the fuss is about. Taken as individuals these girls are not very different from girls anywhere else and their children, whether from a mixed marriage or not, would be no more nor less than any children anywhere. I cannot say that I have decided that all interracial marriages are good, but taking it on the basis of individuals, my stand has certainly been modified.

The one outstanding general fact that has stuck with me after these years in Hawaii is that the Territory is really far more up-to-date and Americanized than most Mainlanders are aware of. Perhaps in the first impression it seems as if Hawaii over-emphasizes the culture of other nationalities but the longer one stays the more apparent it becomes that these things are really only background material. And running through everything like a core, is the American way of doing things.

In general, I like my new picture of Hawaii far better than the one I had when I arrived. Less romantic perhaps, but surely more alive, more vital, more interesting. I do think the race situation here would serve as an even better example to the world if the publicity people who continuously point with pride would do a little less pointing. Quiet pride is so much more becoming than the noisy kind, and actually it is not the people themselves who make the noise.

In any event, it all comes down to this. The faces may look different, some of the things that go on may seem foreign to a Mainlander, and even some of the language doesn't match; but this is certainly America and anyone who can't see it just isn't looking.

RACE RELATIONS IN THE U. S. ARMY¹

Chris M. Kimura

Negro-White Relations

Racial integration appears to have gone further in the Army than in civilian life. A bus terminal in Florida caught my attention with its large signs, conspicuously placed, directing colored people to use the separate entrances, ticket windows, and waiting and rest rooms provided especially for them. Elsewhere, various restaurants, hotels, beaches, and parks were "off-limits" to Negroes. To be sure, Florida was not alone in requiring and enforcing racial segregation.

The Army presented a completely different picture. Here both white and Negro seemed rather well contented with integration. Both frequented the same service club, base theatre, post exchange and chapel. During off-duty hours, Negroes driving into town picked up hitch-hiking white soldiers, and vice versa. Indeed, once a Negro had been placed in an integrated unit, he generally became a part of the informal group and acquired buddies, both Negro and white.

Usually, the white soldier arrived on the post filled with all kinds of race prejudices derived from his earliest childhood. He came into the Army possessed with certain myths--that Negroes were generally good-for-nothing s. o. b.'s, that they easily became quarrelsome and violent, always ready for an argument and fight, and that they were thieves, trouble makers, and back-stabbers to be avoided as much as possible. Because of these attitudes, the white soldier magnified his grievances and placed them on a racial basis. Yet the white soldier had to work and live beside the Negro by military order, no matter how strongly he might have felt about colored people. As a result, he got to know the Negro personally and gradually changed his antagonistic feeling. The white soldier found he could work side by side with a Negro soldier and might eventually accept him as a fellow member of a primary group.

In some cases, white soldiers from the deep South became close buddies with Negro soldiers, with very warm and closely personal relations between them. When I was stationed at Fort Belvoir, Virginia, there were in my barracks two soldiers who were the best of friends--a Mississippi white and a Georgia Negro. Together they went to the service club, base theatre and post exchange. They told each other about their hometowns, sweethearts and other personal experiences. This Mississippi white and Georgia Negro even wrote to their families back home about this friendship.

¹ This article consists of the impressions derived from eight-months of military duty (1954-55) in the South (Virginia, Florida and Texas), when the author was able to observe race relations at work on various military posts and to converse with many persons of different ethnic groups.

At Brooke Army Hospital in San Antonio, Texas, segregation and discrimination were practically non-existent. Negroes mixed well with whites. Favors were shown regardless of skin color, and to my knowledge, very little discord ever occurred. Whether it was watching television, playing cards, browsing in the library, or carrying on a lively bull-session, the Negro seemed to be accepted as a social equal. I never heard of a white patient objecting to sleeping next to a Negro or eating with him in the mess hall. Such was the case also at an Air Force hospital in Florida.

There was an apparent clannishness in which some whites and some Negroes tended to stick to their particular ethnic group. This tendency did not necessarily indicate friction along racial lines, but illustrated rather that "birds of a feather flock together." A Negro associated more freely with other Negroes, since in such a group he found the greatest emotional comfort or security and assurances that he would be accepted on the same social plane. I noted that some Negroes seemed reserved and introverted in white company but were quite convivial and affable among other Negroes.²

Although both white and Negro attended the service club socials, they usually did not mix well--here a group of Negro soldiers and Negro girls, there a group of white soldiers and white girls, but seldom a group of Whites and Negroes.

Oriental-White Relations

As a Japanese Nisei, I associated freely and easily with whites, as much as or even more than with other Orientals. I found no social barriers to hurdle. Whites treated me to drinks, cigarettes, movies and snacks. I went sightseeing, hiking and swimming with them. We talked intimately. We attended chapel services together. I could go on indefinitely listing such instances. In such relations it seemed to me that an Oriental's character and personality, rather than his racial background, determined the degree of his acceptance by Occidentals.

Probably my best buddies in the service were two whites. Our cultural backgrounds were dissimilar, so that what actually cemented the friendship bonds was the freedom of communication between us. These two whites and I were attending the soils-technician school at Fort Belvoir, Virginia. We went to classes together, studied and dined together, and slept in the same barracks. When our courses was completed, all three of us were sent to the same base in California. After several months there we were sent on our separate ways--one to Alaska, the other to Oregon, and I to Florida--thus terminating our active friendship. Certainly, we had made no conscious effort to select each other for friends. Participation in a common endeavor had attracted us together. We had attended the same classes and had worked diligently. Moreover, we had felt comfortable in

² Such a situation occurs daily on the University of Hawaii campus, where Haoles tend to associate more with Haoles, and Orientals with Orientals; therefore, social exclusion is not confined solely to the Negroes.

One different aspect of race relations was that Orientals, in most cases from Hawaii, tended to form a closely-knit group. Whites were not included in this intimacy, and I can well understand why. The Orientals were lonely because their homes were far away and because they comprised a minority. White company did not offer them much because of differing cultural backgrounds. In the all-Oriental group, members talked the same "lingo," shared common sentiments, and discussed common experiences. Such a situation could so easily have been misinterpreted by other ethnic groups as being pure Oriental snobbery.

Another aspect was the social unrest generated by the loneliness of Japanese-American soldiers from Hawaii. As these Japanese brooded over how wonderful Hawaii was and how very happy they would be if they could be back home and how much they missed Japanese food, their loneliness and frustrations deepened. Each affected the other and was in turn affected by him. Whites provided no consolation; they didn't understand the full meaning of this loneliness and could not understand why Japanese from Hawaii talked in their peculiar slang or why they liked rice so much. When weekends arrived, these Japanese eagerly sought the Japanese sections of the nearby cities and had a fine time being among Japanese again and eating Japanese food and hearing Japanese music. All these things reminded them of home and for a while alleviated their loneliness. However, once they returned to their bases and resumed their military duties among the "foreign whites," their loneliness reappeared.

The brighter aspect of the picture was that Orientals earnestly attempted to "outshine" the other racial groups in the performance of military duties. They made every effort to polish their boots the brightest, to take baths and to change clothes more often, and to make their barracks the cleanest. In this sense, the Orientals were endeavoring to prove their worth to others, that they did count and in fact were important to the military unit. Usually, the whites "caught on" so as not to be outdone by their yellow-skinned associates in this friendly competition of "saving face."

³ I should mention here that the three cadres who selected me as a squad leader during basic training in California were whites.

The last year or two have seen the publication of a number of books and studies containing materials of interest to the student of the sociology of Hawaii. The purpose of this discussion is to bring these to the attention of the student of sociology and to attempt briefly to state how they contribute to our understanding.

Andrew W. Lind (editor), Race Relations in World Perspective and Melvin Conant, Race Issues on the World Scene, both published in 1955 by the University of Hawaii Press are part of the harvest of the world race relations conference held on the campus in the summer of 1954.

The Lind book is a collection of most of the papers prepared in advance by the scholars invited to the conference. These are of course world-wide in scope. Two, however, deal to some extent with Hawaii: Andrew W. Lind, "Occupation and Race on Certain Frontiers" and Bernhard L. Hormann, "Rigidity and Fluidity in Race Relations." Lind's paper develops a comparison between the way race relates to the changing occupational structure of Hawaii and Malaya, both of them conceived as plantation frontiers. Hormann's paper is concerned with what European expansion does to non-Western populations, and uses Hawaii as a case history.

The Conant book is a brief 145-page summary of the four-week conference and its papers and reports, prepared by one of the participants, at that time in charge of the Pacific and Asian Affairs Council of Honolulu. Unfortunately it lacks an index. This reviewer spotted the following references to Hawaii:

Page	
12	reference to race and occupation.
69-76	summary of the summary on race relations presented orally to the conference.
132	adherents of the ideology of racial integration as against groups practicing it.
133	suggested research on racial integration in government.

Andrew W. Lind, Hawaii's People (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1955) is a brief book of just over a hundred pages written with the purpose of bringing up-to-date a similar but even briefer work by Romanzo Adams, which came out in two editions twenty-five years ago and has long been out of print. Its title The Peoples of Hawaii when juxtaposed to Lind's suggests the transition from many peoples to one.

The five chapters tell, largely in statistical terms, who they are-- racial, sex, and age composition of the population through the years; where they live--by islands and local communities; how they live--by occupation; and what they are becoming--by education, citizenship, political participation, birth, death, and interracial marriage rates.

Certain statistics available to Adams are now no longer obtainable because in the last two decades racial statistics have gradually been eliminated, and thus Lind was not able to give recent data on voters by race, assessed value of personal property by race, school enrollment by race. Lind also did not go into indices of social disorganization, which Adams had included.

In spite of the brevity of the work, Lind manages to pack a good deal of sociological analysis into the text and in that sense the book is a brief introduction to the sociology of modern Hawaii. He brings together concisely many of his understandings of Hawaii developed at greater length in his other writings, but one point which he makes strongly I don't remember coming across before. It was suggested by Adams that U.S. census practice about racial classification when applied to Hawaii in 1900 did not fit the local situation and had to be abandoned or modified in subsequent censuses. Lind, however, suggests that the Mainland practice introduced an emphasis on biological conceptions of race for the first time. Previous to that time, the prevalent conception had been one which classified people culturally or by national origin. Today our most widely used classification of the peoples retains Mainland practice in its handling of Caucasians. Otherwise the earlier local practice is the one in vogue, except in the matter of persons of mixed blood where the two principles are compromised. I personally feel that it was inevitable for some classification including all Haoles, by whatever name, to emerge in contrast to the Hawaiian and immigrant nationalities. The distinction is somewhat similar to that between old Americans--Yankees--, say in New England and the Middle West contrasted with the European immigrant nationality groups there, and the biological connotations are not very great in either situation.

The members of the department of sociology and the Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory occasionally are asked to do special researches on a contractual basis. Two recent ones are deserving of attention.

Lee M. Brooks, C. K. Cheng, with Jesse F. Steiner as consultant, prepared a Survey of Conditions and Needs Basic to Planning a New Jail for the City and County of Honolulu for the Board of Supervisors. Appearing in 1955, this mimeographed volume runs to 85 pages. The survey was interested in data which would contribute to the intelligent planning of a new jail. Major emphasis was on a study of a sample of the jail population over the previous ten-year period. Among the noteworthy findings were that the top offense, accounting for 37.6 per cent of the 780 offenders in the sample, was for drunkenness. Traffic violations came second with 19.4 per cent.

The jail population sample was 95 per cent male, and 40 per cent between 15 and 29 years of age, with traffic offenses as their most frequent offense. Seventy per cent were single, divorced, or widowed.

"Caucasians comprised the largest single racial group in jail, 30 per cent." Hawaiians were just below, and Filipinos third, and all these groups, with the Puerto Ricans and Negroes were over-represented in prison population as against under-representation on the part of the Japanese and Chinese.

Seventy-six inmates were interviewed and here the following additional facts became apparent, 6 out of 10 were unemployed; only 2 of 10 had some skilled trade; only 1 of 10 owned their homes; 5 out of 10 came from areas of Honolulu characterized by sub-standard housing; more than 5 of 10 had less than 8th grade schooling; 6 of 10 had not attended church in the preceding year, although 8 of 10 were Christians of various denominations.

Other materials presented were maximum and minimum jail occupancy over the period, views of the judiciary on the effect of a new jail on their sentencing practice, an estimate of the future population of Oahu--465,000 in 1970, and suggestions for desirable facilities based on these data and on specifications of Mainland jails.

Douglas S. Yamamura, Functions and Role Conceptions of Nursing Service Personnel is another mimeographed volume issued in 1955, 148 pages long. This study was done for the Territorial Commission on Nursing Education and Nursing Service under the auspices of the Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory. Conducted at six of Oahu's hospitals, and involving 291 nurses, it was preceded by a pilot study at Leahi Hospital.

The study is in two parts. The first analyzes the nursing functions performed at the hospitals and functionaries actually performing these functions by major areas--medical, administrative, personal services, clerical, housekeeping, educational--and the opinions of the nurses as to what class of functionary should carry out the functions. In general high agreement was found among the various classes of nurse, supervisory, general duty, and practical, as to which class should do which type of function. The opinions also correspond with the practice.

The second and in many ways more interesting part of the study dealt with job satisfaction. Using a scale developed to a point of statistical reliability and validity by Bullock on the Mainland, Yamamura attempted to measure where the more satisfied nurses found their satisfaction, whether in her appraisal of (1) the general community attitude towards nursing; (2) the attitude of her primary group (friends and family) to nursing; (3) the attitude of her work group: superiors, peers, and subordinates; (4) the hospital; and (5) the job and its functions. He found that while these all played a role, "the most highly significant general factors were the nurse's appraisal of the hospital for which she works, her appraisal of the attitude of her superiors towards her, and her attitudes towards the functions she performs."

These findings, Yamamura points out, are in line with the emphasis of Elton Mayo and his successors studying industry, namely that people at work respond to social as much as pecuniary incentives.

Yamamura makes concrete suggestions, both for improvements in hospital practice and for further research, for he regards his study as exploratory.

One of the intriguing findings, not particularly emphasized, is that Hawaii nurses measure higher in their job satisfaction than Ohio nurses studied by Bullock. This naturally leads to questions as to whether Hawaii itself is one of the aspects of job satisfaction. This in turn leads to questions as to differences between "local" and "Mainland" nurses working in Hawaii.

Many of the Mayo-inspired studies were addressed to the problem of turnover, as one of the symptoms of worker unrest and dissatisfaction. That the turnover of nurses in Hawaii is high seems to contradict the findings on the Bullock scale and would certainly suggest an important problem for further research. The financial angle does perhaps play a role for the salary scales for nurses in Hawaii are below those in many Mainland areas.

These questions which come to my mind did not come within the scope of Yamamura's very clearly defined research. The work in conception and execution is a model of workmanship.

The reviewer's book of readings, culled from the first fourteen volumes of Social Process in Hawaii came out in September of 1956 under the title, Community Forces in Hawaii. Running to 365 pages, its sixty articles are arranged in the chronological order of their appearance. An

appendix gives a complete list of Social Process articles through Volume XIX and of the authors whose articles appear in the book, in alphabetical order. An index is provided.

O. A. Bushnell, *The Return of Lono* (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1956), a novel by a University of Hawaii bacteriologist, is of real interest because it gives us such a vivid picture of the events which connect pre-historic Hawaii with historic Hawaii. The novel is based on contemporary accounts, such as the journal of Captain Cook, and the novelist's art is used in the portrayal of the characters and of the dramatic and tragic conflict between them. Using this conflict as well as the inevitable misunderstandings between the native Hawaiians and the Europeans, he tries to account for Captain Cook's death.

We will never be able completely to reconstruct early Hawaiian life, but here is a reconstruction that tells us plausibly about the gods, chiefs, priests, and commoners and about the way of life of ancient Hawaii.

Bradford Smith, *Yankees in Paradise: the New England Impact on Hawaii* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1956) fills a long-felt gap in the social history of Hawaii. It is an objective account of the influence of the New England missionaries on Hawaii. While the text itself omits footnote reference numbers, bibliographical notes for each chapter are appended at the back, and it is clear that the work is based on sound principles of scholarship. Only a few minor errors of fact have crept in, an amazing accomplishment for a man who did most of his research and writing in New England and has lived in Hawaii only during the difficult World War II period, when he was in charge of psychological warfare operations for the Office of War Information. He has written one other book of sociological interest with material on Hawaii, *Americans from Japan*, published in 1948.

After devoting the first four chapters to the arrival of the Congregational missionaries and the establishment of the mission in 1820, the next twenty-two chapters give essentially a year-by-year account of the activities of the missionaries, ending with 1854, when the mission had severed connection with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which had sent them out and supported them until then. The last chapter, suggestively entitled, "Did they do good--or well?" in summary fashion brings the story down to the present.

While the book has aroused some controversy, on the part of a few persons who in letters to the editor claim he has maligned the Hawaiian character, the work is a humane and understanding account of the undermining of the Hawaiian way of life by the inevitable forces which the discovery of the Islands unleashed, and of which the missionaries were carriers, as well as the sailors and traders. Smith holds no brief for the missionaries. He describes the whole complex of ideas they stood for and sought to implant in Hawaii: the religion of Jesus Christ, the redeemer of all men; notions which strike us moderns as narrow tied by the missionaries to their religion; and such features of civilization as introduction of literacy, education, and medicine. Smith is quite blunt in the way he handles the narrow disruptive principles for which the missionaries often fought quite stubbornly. For instance, it was largely the influence of the missionaries which influenced King Kamehameha III to give up the feudal land system and substitute for it private ownership. Smith writes on page 287:

The importation of the Yankee culture had inevitably begun the destruction of the Hawaiian community. Ironically, free ownership of the land, intended to revive the dying community, had given it the death stroke.

It is dangerous to tamper with any part of a culture. Smith is thus perfectly aware of the difficulties growing out of culture contact. Then he gives his positive appreciation of the work of the missionaries:

"From the moment when the Hawaiians cast away their own tabu system, their culture was doomed, and many worse things could have happened to it than to have it come under the influence of a group who in all sincerity had the interest of the Hawaiians at heart. It is idle, perhaps, to wonder how the job might have been better done. Surely if the whalers and traders had been given a free hand, the result would have been disastrous." (p. 287)

Kathleen Dickenson Mellen, *The Gods Depart, A Saga of the Hawaiian Kingdom* (New York: Hastings House, 1956). This is the third volume in a series in which Mrs. Mellen is giving the dramatic "Hawaiian side of the story" of Hawaii, beginning with the great Kamehameha. This volume deals with the second half of the reign of Kamehameha III and with the reigns of the last two Kamehamehas, the period from 1832 to 1873.

While the book is the outgrowth not only of wide reading of primary as well as secondary sources but also of direct interviews with Hawaiian informants, it is not documented in the conventional manner of historical and sociological scholars.

The author presents feelingly the conception that the foreigners, and particularly "the missionary party," (including, as she says, non-missionaries and excluding some missionaries) undermined the warm and happy Hawaiian way of life, and worked unceasingly for the introduction of the stiff Puritan way of life for their own enrichment, and for the annexation of the Islands to America--all at the expense of the welfare of the Hawaiians.

The thesis that the ways of native people are destroyed by the impact of Western civilization is of course widely accepted. The Mellen presentation, however, is as though this process, which has occurred throughout the world during the last four centuries, could have been prevented in Hawaii. To the reviewer the amazing thing about Hawaii is rather that, in spite of the weakness of most folk societies under the impact of Western commercial and industrial civilization, the Hawaiians have not succumbed. They have never in the strict sense even been a "dependent" people. In the new Hawaiian culture which is now a-building in the Islands the Hawaiian component will be marked and certainly much stronger than the American Indian in North American culture. As a people the Hawaiians have not only survived, they are today the fastest growing in the local population. If "gods" stands for the Hawaiian ethos, it could be argued that the gods never did depart.